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ABSTRACT

This report of a hearing on the Office of Educational Research and Improvement (U.S. Department of Education) focuses on programs that may help the plight of black males in the country's educational system, i.e., ways in which educational research and reform can address the problems of equal education, high dropout rates, poor student attitudes, low academic achievement, and the need for educational improvement for minority children generally. After an introduction and opening statement by Major R. Owens, Chairman, testimony and/or prepared statements and other materials from the following representatives from the field of education are presented: (1) W. Curtis Banks, Psychology Department, Howard University; (2) Steven Bossert, Bruce Hare, and William Pollard, Syracuse University; (3) Jomills Henry Braddock II, Director, Center for Research on Effective Schooling; (4) Norma Ewing, Chairperson, Special Education Department, Southern Illinois University; (5) Henry Frierson, Jr., Office of Educational Development, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; (6) Geneva Gay, Purdue University; Michael K. Grady, Prince George's County Public Schools; (7) Larry Hawkins, Institute for Athletics and Education, University of Chicago; (8) Barbara Holmes, Director, Education Commission of the States; (9) Shirley M. McBay, President, Quality Education for Minorities Network; (10) William Oliver, Criminal Justice Program, University of Delaware; and (11) Warren Simmons, Director of Equity Assurance Programs, Prince George's County Public Schools. (DB)

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HEARING ON THE OFFICE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND IMPROVEMENT

HEARING

BEFORE THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT EDUCATION

OF THE

COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

ONE HUNDRED FIRST CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

HEARING HELD IN WASHINGTON, DC, SEPTEMBER 27, 1990

Serial No. 101-125

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HEARING ON THE OFFICE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND IMPROVEMENT

THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 27, 1990

House of Representatives,
Subcommittee on Select Education,
Committee on Education and Labor,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:40 a.m., in Room 2175, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. R. Major Owens [Chairman] presiding.

Members present: Representatives Owens, Hawkins, Payne, and Bartlett.

Staff present: Wanser Green, Laurence Peters, Sally Lovejoy, and Theda Zawaiza.

Chairman Owens. The hearing of the Subcommittee on Select Education will come to order.

Today we are considering programs which may help the plight of the endangered African-American male as a special problem in our educational system. There is a crisis within the African-American community, and a large portion of an entire generation—a generation full of hope and full of promise—is being destroyed before our eyes.

The Subcommittee on Select Education is meeting today to address the plight of African-American males and to identify ways in which educational research and reform can help to increase the role of education in ameliorating their condition. This is a subject which has a great deal of heat generated. I would like to see some more light thrown on the subject.

This weekend, in several panels with lay leaders, we will be addressing the problem of the endangered black male. However, it was felt that it was important to hear from the experts in the area of education and have some concrete proposals on the official record as to how we may begin to address the problem; to have on the record examples of models that are working, and go forward to seek to replicate some of those models.

I think we all are familiar with the very depressing statistics and data that support the contention that there is a special problem; a problem faced by the African-American male may just be an intensification of the problem faced by all African-American children, but that intensification has brought it to public attention in a very dramatic way.

There are some statistics which certainly dramatize this: In 1987, one-third of all African-American males, 15 to 24, lived in poverty compared to 10 percent of all white males in that age group.

As you may know, there has recently been a highly publicized study which showed that one in four African-American males, 20 to 29, are within the control of the criminal justice system.

African-American children are three times more likely than white children to be placed in classes for the educable mentally retarded, and only half as likely to be placed in classes for the gifted and talented.

While African-American students comprise 16 percent of the elementary and secondary public school enrollments, only about eight percent of public school teachers are African-American, and this number is decreasing.

In high schools, African-American males are suspended about three times more often than whites. And on it goes. I won't read all of the statistics and findings because they are familiar to most of us. These are sad and shocking statistics. They are not an indictment of African-American men, or of African-American youth, generally, but they are an indictment and an indication of a system that is not working.

Our educational system has the potential to put in the hands of every African-American male child the means to defy the odds and the means to overcome many of the obstacles that are thrown in his way. But today that potential is being squandered. Instead of helping our children move ahead, the Nation's school systems are actually pushing them further back.

Consider this: African-American children begin school only slightly behind their white classmates in educational attainment. By the third grade, they have fallen six months behind their white peers. By the sixth grade, they are one year behind. By the eighth grade, they are two years behind. By the twelfth grade, they are more than three years behind.

There is a clear and undeniable link between educational achievement and the later ability to overcome problems and become a productive member of society. The connections are apparent to correctional officers who are almost able to project the size of future prison populations from third grade reading scores. They are also evident to the Committee for Economic Development which estimated that each year's class of dropouts, those students dropping out of high school and not graduating, will cost the Nation more than $240 billion in lost earnings and foregone taxes over their lifetimes.

The Committee for Economic Development is a group of hard-boiled corporate executives and businessmen, and their study produced this outstanding—very unusual statistic.

If the kind of laissez-faire attitude and mentality found in education were as rife in the field of medicine or business, we would hear cries of a national calamity. In education, however, we continue to blame the victim, or blame his family structure, or culture, or proceed to loosely test in a half-hearted fashion a host of theories and ideas which seldom come close to offering definitive guidance because they are inadequately financed, and they are not subject to rigorous evaluation.

In the health field, the National Institutes of Health were created with the basic premise that only the Federal Government could conduct large-scale investigations into the nature of killer diseases. In comparison, the field of education is still in the prepenicillin stage.

We must greatly enhance our educational research base if we are to systematically address the specific problems facing the African-American male. Strategies that introduce specialized curricula and other distinct models in schools may be promising. However, our approach to the delivery of effective educational services to this population must be based on systematic, empirically-grounded research and scientifically evaluated demonstration projects.

In order to prevent a repetition of this discussion ten years from now, we need an entity of the calibre of the National Institutes of Health with the mission to encourage replication and to promote dissemination of what works. A National Institute for the Education of At-Risk Students capable of standing above the fray of narrow partisan politics would provide leadership in devising and implementing model programs such as programs for the recruitment and training of a pool of minority teachers on an ongoing basis; programs for the testing of the viability of Afrocentric curriculum and what exactly do they contribute; programs for the experimentation with the utilization of sports as a more integral part of a curriculum instead of being a separate extracurricular activity. Numerous other kinds of experiments are needed; demonstration projects are needed.

As Governor Wallace Wilkinson of Kentucky put it, "There is nothing wrong with the kids we put in our system. There is something wrong with the system we are putting our kids in."

The country cannot continue to contend that all children can learn while allowing the slow decimation of large numbers of young African-American males who gain little from their school experience. The race between education and catastrophe is now upon us, and to fail to successfully educate yet another generation of African-American males, means that we not only continue to foreclose opportunities for individual lives, but that we continue to pay for our failure over and over again in unnecessary social costs. We cannot afford to lose.

[The prepared statement of Hon. Major R. Owens follows:]

OPENING STATEMENT OF HON. MAJOR R. OWENS, CHAIRMAN
HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT EDUCATION
HEARING ON THE OFFICE OF EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND IMPROVEMENT
SEPTEMBER 27, 1990

THERE IS A CRISIS WITHIN THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN COMMUNITY, AND A LARGE PORTION OF AN ENTIRE GENERATION--FULL OF HOPE, FULL OF PROMISE--IS BEING DESTROYED BEFORE OUR EYES.

THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT EDUCATION IS MEETING TODAY TO ADDRESS THE PLIGHT OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN MALES AND TO IDENTIFY WAYS IN WHICH EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH AND REFORM CAN HELP TO INCREASE THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN AMELIORATING THEIR CONDITION.

- IN 1987, ONE THIRD OF ALL AFRICAN-AMERICAN MALES 15-24 LIVED IN POVERTY COMPARED TO 10% OF ALL WHITE MALES IN THAT AGE GROUP.
- ONE IN FOUR AFRICAN-AMERICAN MALES 20-29 ARE WITHIN THE CONTROL OF THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM.
- AFRICAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN ARE THREE TIMES MORE LIKELY THAN WHITE CHILDREN TO BE PLACED IN CLASSES FOR THE EDUCABLE MENTALLY RETARDED, AND ONLY HALF AS LIKELY TO BE IN CLASSES FOR THE GIFTED AND TALENTED.

- WHILE AFRICAN-AMERICAN STUDENTS COMPRISE 16% OF ELEMENTARY AND SECONDARY PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENTS, ONLY ABOUT 8% OF PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS ARE AFRICAN-AMERICAN, AND THIS NUMBER IS DECREASING.
- IN HIGH SCHOOLS, AFRICAN-AMERICAN MALES ARE SUSPENDED ABOUT THREE TIMES MORE OFTEN THAN WHITES.
- BETWEEN 1976 AND 1986, DESPITE INCREASES IN OVERALL MINORITY ENROLLMENT, COLLEGE ENROLLMENT RATES OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN MALES, 18-24, DECLINED FROM 35% TO 28%.
- IN A SURVEY OF NEARLY 2,500 INNER-CITY RESIDENTS IN CHICAGO, EMPLOYED FATHERS WERE TWICE AS LIKELY AS UNEMPLOYED FATHERS TO MARRY THE MOTHER OF THEIR FIRST CHILD.
- BETWEEN 1973-1986, THE PROPORTION OF EMPLOYED AFRICAN-AMERICAN MALES 18-29 WORKING IN A MANUFACTURING JOB DECLINED BY 43%.
- HOMICIDE IS THE LEADING CAUSE OF DEATH FOR AFRICAN-AMERICAN MALES, 15-24. AFRICAN-AMERICAN MALES HAVE A 1 IN 21 CHANCE OF BEING MURDERED BEFORE AGE 25. ALTHOUGH AFRICAN-AMERICAN MALES COMPRISE ONLY 6% OF THE TOTAL POPULATION OF AMERICA, THEY ACCOUNT FOR 34% OF ALL THE MURDER VICTIMS.

- AFRICAN-AMERICAN MALES HAVE A LOWER LIFE EXPECTANCY RATE THAN ANY OTHER SEX AND ETHNIC GROUP. THE MEDIAN AGE OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN MALE CENTRAL CITY RESIDENTS IS 24 YEARS COMPARED TO THE NATIONAL MEDIAN AGE OF 32.3.

THESE SAD AND SHOCKING STATISTICS ARE NOT AN INDICTMENT OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN MEN, OR OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS GENERALLY, BUT OF A SYSTEM THAT IS NOT WORKING. OUR EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM HAS THE POTENTIAL TO PUT IN THE HANDS OF EVERY AFRICAN-AMERICAN MALE CHILD THE MEANS TO DEFY THE ODDS AND OVERCOME MANY OF THE OBSTACLES THROWN IN HIS WAY. BUT, TODAY THAT POTENTIAL IS BEING SQUANDERED. INSTEAD OF HELPING OUR CHILDREN MOVE AHEAD, THE NATION'S SCHOOL SYSTEMS ARE ACTUALLY PUSHING THEM FURTHER BACK.

CONSIDER THIS:

- AFRICAN-AMERICAN CHILDREN BEGIN SCHOOL ONLY SLIGHTLY BEHIND THEIR WHITE CLASSMATES IN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT.
- BY THE THIRD GRADE, THEY HAVE FALLEN SIX MONTHS BEHIND THEIR WHITE PEERS.
- BY THE SIXTH GRADE, THEY ARE ONE YEAR BEHIND.
- BY EIGHT GRADE, THEY ARE TWO YEARS BEHIND.
- BY TWELFTH GRADE, THEY ARE MORE THAN THREE YEARS BEHIND.

THERE IS A CLEAR AND UNDENIABLE LINK BETWEEN EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT AND LATER ABILITY TO BECOME A PRODUCTIVE MEMBER OF SOCIETY. THE CONNECTIONS ARE APPARENT TO CORRECTIONAL OFFICERS WHO ARE ABLE TO PROJECT THE SIZE OF FUTURE PRISON POPULATIONS FROM THIRD GRADE READING SCORES. THEY ARE ALSO EVIDENT TO THE COMMITTEE FOR ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WHICH ESTIMATED THAT EACH YEAR'S CLASS OF DROPOUTS WILL COST THE NATION MORE THAN $240 BILLION IN LOST EARNINGS AND FOREGONE TAXES OVER THEIR LIFETIMES.

IF THE KIND OF LAISSEZ-FAIRE MENTALITY FOUND IN EDUCATION WERE AS RIFE IN THE FIELD OF MEDICINE OR BUSINESS, WE WOULD HEAR CRIES OF A NATIONAL CALAMITY. IN EDUCATION, HOWEVER, WE CONTINUE TO BLAME THE VICTIM OR BLAME HIS FAMILY STRUCTURE OR CULTURE, AND PROCEED TO LOOSELY TEST, IN A HALF-HEARTED FASHION, A HOST OF THEORIES AND IDEAS WHICH SELDOM COME CLOSE TO OFFERING DEFINITIVE GUIDANCE BECAUSE THEY ARE INADEQUATELY FINANCED AND NOT SUBJECT TO RIGOROUS EVALUATION. IN THE HEALTH FIELD, THE NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH WERE CREATED WITH THE BASIC PREMISE THAT ONLY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT COULD CONDUCT LARGE SCALE INVESTIGATIONS INTO THE NATURE OF KILLER DISEASES. IN COMPARISON, THE FIELD OF EDUCATION IS STILL IN THE PRE-PENICILLIN ERA.

WE MUST GREATLY ENHANCE OUR EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH BASE IF WE ARE TO SYSTEMATICALLY ADDRESS THE SPECIFIC PROBLEMS FACING THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN MALE. STRATEGIES THAT INTRODUCE SPECIALIZED CURRICULA AND OTHER DISTINCT MODELS IN SCHOOLS MAY BE PROMISING. HOWEVER, OUR APPROACH TO THE DELIVERY OF EFFECTIVE EDUCATIONAL SERVICES TO THIS POPULATION MUST BE BASED ON SYSTEMATIC, EMPIRICALLY-GROUNDED RESEARCH AND SCIENTIFICALLY EVALUATED DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS.

IN ORDER TO PREVENT A REPETITION OF THIS DISCUSSION TEN YEARS FROM NOW, WE NEED AN ENTITY OF THE CALIBRE OF THE NATIONAL INSTITUTES OF HEALTH WITH THE MISSION TO ENCOURAGE REPLICATION AND TO PROMOTE DISSEMINATION OF WHAT WORKS. A NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR THE EDUCATION OF AT-RISK STUDENTS, CAPABLE OF STANDING ABOVE THE FRAY OF NARROW PARTISAN POLITICS, WOULD PROVIDE LEADERSHIP IN DEVISING AND IMPLEMENTING MODEL PROGRAMS (E.G., FOR THE RECRUITMENT AND TRAINING OF A POOL OF MINORITY TEACHERS, FOR TESTING THE VIABILITY OF AN AFROCENTRIC CURRICULUM, FOR EXPERIMENTATION WITH THE UTILIZATION OF SPORTS AS A MORE INTEGRAL PART OF A CURRICULUM).

AS GOVERNOR WALLACE WILKINSON OF KENTUCKY PUT IT, "THERE'S NOTHING WRONG WITH THE KIDS WE PUT IN OUR SYSTEM. THERE'S SOMETHING WRONG WITH THE SYSTEM WE'RE PUTTING OUR KIDS IN."

THE COUNTRY CANNOT CONTINUE TO CONTEND THAT ALL CHILDREN CAN LEARN WHILE ALLOWING THE SLOW DECIMATION OF LARGE NUMBERS OF YOUNG AFRICAN-AMERICAN MALES WHO GAIN LITTLE FROM THEIR SCHOOL EXPERIENCE. THE RACE BETWEEN EDUCATION AND CATASTROPHE IS NOW UPON US. TO FAIL TO SUCCESSFULLY EDUCATE YET ANOTHER GENERATION OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN MALES MEANS THAT WE NOT ONLY CONTINUE TO FORECLOSE OPPORTUNITIES FOR INDIVIDUAL LIVES, BUT THAT WE CONTINUE TO PAY FOR OUR FAILURE OVER AND OVER AGAIN IN UNNECESSARY SOCIAL COSTS. WE CANNOT AFFORD TO LOSE.

Chairman **Owens**. I want to thank our Chairman, Mr. Hawkins, for coming to our rescue and allowing us to open this hearing, and would like to yield for an opening statement from Mr. Hawkins.

Chairman **Hawkins**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I doubt if mine is a rescue operation. I regret that I cannot stay through the day. I would certainly enjoy, I am sure, the number of outstanding witnesses that you have.

In a few minutes we will have the Job Training Partnership Act which, in a sense, I think is compatible with what you are doing. That will be on the floor this morning. I suspect Mr. Bartlett will probably have to go also. I understand he has one little amendment——

Mr. **Bartlett**. Very small technical amendment.

Chairman **Hawkins**. [continuing] very small technical amendment that he and I will be debating probably, but I think it is very relevant.

I commend you on this hearing because I think it is one of the most critical issues before the Congress, and I think it is a calamity, if not a tragedy, what we have done, or have not done, through neglect and oversight. At the same time, as you know, and you have participated in it, we have the Education Bill, H.R. 5115, that will also address the educational component of the program and reach that part of the problem. In addition to that we also have the Civil Rights Act which, in a sense, addresses some of the problem also.

So, I think there are several issues being addressed, all pertaining to the same subject matter, but yours is a most important component of it, and I suspect that next year, if we can assume that these various proposals will be approved—and hopefully by the middle of next month—that a problem of coordination would be before us, and I look forward, obviously, to what we can do this session, and then leave it in your capable hands what you do next session when I will not be a member of Congress.

I think it is important to note, however, that we are moving on different fronts, and that they are all compatible, and certainly want to commend you on what you have done, and you will be doing in this committee.

Chairman **Owens**. Thank you again, Mr. Chairman, and we look forward to your loud voice, as a private citizen, to continue the fight next year.

I want to thank also the ranking member of the Subcommittee on Select Education, Mr. Bartlett, and yield to Mr. Bartlett for an opening statement.

Mr. **Bartlett**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am looking forward to this hearing. I may have to leave for the House floor in a little while because of the Job Training Partnership Act, but other than that, I do plan to be here and review and read the testimony.

I find this to be an extraordinary hearing that, frankly, is long overdue. This issue, the issue of the failure of large numbers of black Americans, and particularly men, in much larger percentage than other groups of Americans, is, in my opinion, America's dirty little secret. As Major Owens said, it is not the fault of the individuals involved. Indeed, there are systemic problems that we have in this nation that hold people down instead of lifting them up.

I find it to be a far more complicated problem than what happens in any particular classroom, or on any kind of a test. I find it to be an issue that has multiple causes, and therefore multiple solutions.

I look forward to this hearing as an opportunity for, at least this side of Congress, to begin understanding the many facets of the problem and developing various ways to tackle the problem to find a solution. So, I think it is going to be an extraordinary hearing, and an issue that has been, for far too long, undiscussed, and I compliment Chairman Owens for calling the hearing and opening up a window on this subject.

Chairman OWENS. We are going to begin with the first panel, Dr. Michael K. Grady and Dr. Warren Simmons, Research Associates, Prince George's County Public Schools, Upper Marlboro, Maryland; Dr. W. Curtis Banks, Psychology Department of Howard University; Dr. Jomills Henry Braddock, Director of the Center for Research on Effective Schooling.

Gentlemen, will you please be seated and make yourselves comfortable. There is a vote on now, and we are going to take a ten-minute recess while we vote.

[Recess.]

Chairman OWENS. We thank our panelists for waiting, and we can begin now with Dr. Grady and Dr. Simmons.

STATEMENTS OF DR. WARREN SIMMONS, DIRECTOR OF EQUITY ASSURANCE PROGRAMS, PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS; DR. MICHAEL K. GRADY, RESEARCH ASSOCIATE, PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS; DR. W. CURTIS BANKS, PSYCHOLOGY DEPARTMENT, HOWARD UNIVERSITY; AND DR. JOMILLS HENRY BRADDOCK II, DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR RESEARCH ON EFFECTIVE SCHOOLING

Dr. SIMMONS. Good morning, Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, audience. I am here representing Prince George's County Public Schools and the Board of Prince George's County Community College.

Prince George's County line is just east of the Nation's capital. The county has over 600,000 residents, 50 percent of whom are African-Americans. This county also has one of the most affluent and highly educated group of African-Americans in the country.

Prince George's County school system enrolls over 105,000 students, 65 percent of whom are African-Americans. Roughly one-third of the school system's enrollment consists of African-American males.

Prince George's County has joined a growing number of communities across the country that have been alarmed by the increasing difficulties experienced by African-American males. I urge you not only to look at the report produced by the Black Male Achievement Committee in Prince George's County, but by similar reports produced by the New Orleans public schools and Milwaukee public schools as well.

The problems confronting black males in the larger African-American community have been documented in a spate of national reports. With regard to education, the downward trends in towns enrollment, and grade point averages, and standardized test scores exhibited by African-American males, reflect negative trends in the overall school performance of American students.

It's important to recognize, then, that the problems experienced by African-American males, though more severe, are part of a general educational and social malaise affecting the larger society.

In December 1989, Dr. John A. Murphy, Superintendent of Prince George's County Public Schools, convened a group of community leaders to identify barriers to the achievement of African-American males, and solutions to existing problems. During a six-month period, this group listened to the voices of teachers, students, parents, and analyzed hundreds of data on student achievement and course enrollment patterns in our school system.

The committee's findings and recommendations are presented in a two-part report. Part I contains major findings and recommendations, while Part II contains six chapters which provide further support for the conclusions and information presented in Part I.

I am going to talk about the major findings and recommendations, and my colleague, Dr. Grady, is going to talk about the research implications of those findings and recommendations.

The committee identified several factors which contribute to the problems encountered by African-American males. Those germane to school systems across the country include a lack of multicultural curricula, instructional materials and library books, a shortage of African-American role models among the school system's teaching and administrative staff, the over-enrollment of black males in special education classes, and in lower level math, English, social studies, and science courses.

The committee also recognaied that education is a collaborative process requiring the cooperation of schools and communities. The community, then, must share part of the blame for school failure and part of the responsibility for finding solutions. Recognizing this, the Superintendent's Advisory Committee offered a set of recommendations that describe what communities can do to enhance the achievement of African-American males. I am going to address these recommendations concerning the community later in my comments.

Specifically in reference to the school system, the committee found that, beginning in fourth grade, African-American males were grossly underrepresented in advance academic groups and courses; a pattern that worsened from fourth grade through high school, such that in twelfth grade in Prince George's County public schools, only 44 black males, out of a total twelfth grade enrollment of 2300 black males, were enrolled in calculus.

As I said earlier, this is part of a larger educational malaise affecting all students, because it is also true in Prince George's County that only 363 students in twelfth grade are taking calculus, out of a total enrollment of over 7,000 students in twelfth grade.

So the problems facing black males, though more severe, are similar to ones facing all students, at least in Prince George's County, and looking at national data affecting all students overall.

We also found that twice as many black males were enrolled in special education classes in English as compared to their enrollment in English classes for the talented and gifted in high school.

In addition, the mean grade-point average for African-American male high school students in Prince George's County was a 1.89, a level of attainment which means that in Prince George's County large numbers of black males in our high schools are ineligible to participate in extracurricular activities, because in our school system you have to have a 2.0 grade-point average to participate in extracurricular activities.

This means there is a pattern, of not only uninvolvement and underachievement academically, but also in extracurricular activities such as basketball, football, debates, clubs, drama societies, et cetera.

Similarly, African-American males represent one-third of the overall student enrollment, but across kindergarten through twelfth grade comprise almost half of all students receiving special education services.

A review of textbook lists and library catalogues revealed only a superficial rendering of the perspectives and experiences of African-Americans, and women, and other cultural groups in our school curricula, and in our library materials. This in a school system where 65 percent of the students are African-Americans.

The Black Male Achievement Committee found very few library books reflecting the experience of African-Americans in our libraries, very few curriculum materials that spoke and describe the experiences of Africans or African-Americans.

These startling findings led the Black Male Achievement Committee to submit the following recommendations for school change: One of their recommendations was that our school system should ensure that a majority of all student populations have access to, and succeed in advanced levels of the curriculum. What this means, essentially, is that when we ask teachers in our school system what should most students leave Prince George's County schools knowing, most of our teachers gave an unsatisfactory answer, and that answer was, "It depends." What they meant was, it depended upon the curricula program that a child or student was enrolled in.

The Black Male Achievement Committee felt that that was an unsatisfactory answer because national reports have identified the standards that all students must meet to be successful members of mainstream society. Those standards should not be applied to students based on their academic program. They should be applied to students overall, and it is the job of educators to ensure that the vast majority of our students can meet those standards.

With regard to special education, the Black Male Achievement Committee recommended that the school system needed to examine the referral assessment and treatment strategies used by special education programs, especially in regard to their impact on black males. But also we found in our school system that white males, as well, were overenrolled in special education programs, and particularly in those special education programs where the criteria for entry are more subjective. That is, you didn't find an overenrollment of males, black or white, in programs for those with hearing impairments, or programs for those with visual impairments.

You found an overenrollment of black males, in particular, in programs for students with language impairments, in particular, or for emotional disturbances; the grey areas of special education rather than those related to physical handicaps specifically.

They also recommended that we replace what is now a Eurocentric curriculum, with one that is multicultural. I want to take a little time now to talk about specifically what that means, at least in Prince George's County.

Many social scientists are now arguing heatedly about multicultural education and its impact on student achievement. In Prince George's County the community supports multicultural education, with many social scientists—such as Diane Ravitch and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.—arguing that multicultural education will lead to the lowering of standards and the "Balkanization" or "tribalization" of the American population.

The so-called Eurocentric curriculum is viewed as a unifying force, from this standpoint, which represents a set of values that all groups can and should uphold. In Prince George's County, at least, the community believe that the Eurocentric curriculum is creating the very problems that many are now ascribing to multicultural subject matter.

African-American parents and students, who attended the Black Male Achievement Committee hearings, spoke of not learning much about the contributions of Africans and African-Americans to the world and the society through their schooling, or being left with the notion that the single most important aspect in the history of blacks was their experience as slaves in the United States, or as European colonies in the case of Africa.

This prospectus sends a powerful message to blacks and nonblack students alike; a message that says that African-Americans played no meaningful role in the development of this society or this world.

The roots of many black students associating academic achievement with "acting white," become easier to understand, given the curriculum that emphasizes the accomplishments of Europeans and European Americans combined with the underenrollment of African-American students in higher level courses.

Multiculturalizing the curriculum simply means broadening the perspectives and information now used to teach world history, American history, literature, language, arts, mathematics, and science. In doing so, African-Americans and other groups will feel more a part of mainstream society, and that this will increase rather than reduce the extent to which these groups feel a central part of the American experience.

Basically, this issue, however, is an empirical issue that needs to be resolved by research rather than the power of pundits. There are lots of issues like this, that are influencing educators these days, that are being resolved, not by research, but by the power of one group or another.

Many people think learning styles may be an answer to the gap between white Americans and African-Americans and student achievement. Yet there is little basic research, or applied research for that matter, that demonstrates the efficacy of the learning style framework for improving student achievement. These issues need to be resolved in basic research. My colleague, Dr. Grady, is going to talk about that a little bit more.

Let me return to the committee's recommendations, specifically those related to the community. Since education is a collaborative process, the community cannot be held unaccountable for the outcomes that we are beginning to see in relation to black males.

What the Black Male Achievement Committee felt was that the public is not holding its local and national leaders responsible for providing the vision and resources needed to accomplish and coordinate educational goals.

When local school systems fail, superintendents are hired and fired. School boards often remain the same, and the teaching force and administrative staff often remain the same.

What the Black Male Achievement Committee recommended is, that if a local community is dissatisfied with local education, then not only should a superintendent be changed, but perhaps school boards should be changed, and teaching forces should be changed, and school administrators should be changed. And that means that communities have to use their accountability system, which is the ballot box, to elect leaders whose vision is consistent with that of the local community.

Multicultural education, again, is the joint responsibility of the families and the schools. We cannot simply hold teachers responsible for teaching African-Americans about themselves, but African-American parents and, indeed European-American parents, must share in the home the goal of creating multicultural education. Indeed, the community is responsible for reinforcing the view that academic excellence is an important goal and a viable life option for all students. Therefore, churches, sororities, fraternal organizations need to establish learning centers and also centers of support families.

The problem in Prince George's County—at least of African-American males—is not confined to any one social class group. Typically, we have painted low-income parents and single-parent families as the ones that produce the African-American males that are encountering difficulties.

What we are finding in Prince George's County is that two-parent families and middle income and upper-income families are experiencing trouble as well; and that trouble, in part, is caused by the fact that the structure of our school system has changed very little over the last 50 years while the responsibilities in single parent and two-parent families, where both parents are working, had changed dramatically.

Our schools have a structure that, rather than strengthening the family, undermines it by not having extended day programs, by not having preschool programs for students of all groups, and things of the like.

I am now going to turn to my colleague, Dr. Grady, to talk more specifically about the research implications of this report. And, after Dr. Grady concludes his presentation, we will be happy to answer questions about the report.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Warren Simmons follows:]

Congressional Testimony Submitted by:
Dr. Warren Simmons
Director of Equity Assurance Programs
Prince George's County Public Schools

Prince George's County has joined a growing number of communities across the country that have been alarmed by the increasing difficulties experienced by African-American males. The problems confronting black males and the larger African-American community have been documented in a spate of national reports which show that African-American males are subject to higher suicide, homicide and incarceration rates than other groups, and have experienced declining levels of educational attainment. With regard to education, downward trends in college enrollment, grade-point averages and standardized test scores exhibited by African American males, reflect general trends in the overall school performance of American students. It is important to recognize, then, that the problems experienced by African-American males, though more severe, are part of a general educational and social malaise affecting the larger society.

In December, 1989, Dr. John A. Murphy, Superintendent of Prince George's County Public Schools, convened a group of community leaders to identify barriers to the achievement of African-American males and solutions to existing problems. During a 6 month period, this group listened to the voices of teachers, students and parents, and analyzed hundreds of pages of data on student achievement and course enrollment patterns, school staffing, and school policies. The committee's findings and recommendations are presented in a two part report. Part I contains major findings and recommendations, while Part II contains six chapters which provide further support for the conclusions and information presented in Part I.

The committee identified several factors which contribute to the problems encountered by African-American males. Those germane to school systems nationally include lack of multicultural curricula, instructional materials and library books, a shortage of African-American role models among the school system's teaching and administrative staff and the overenrollment of black males in special education classes and lower level math, English, social studies and science courses.

The committee also recognized that education is a collaborative process requiring the cooperation of schools and communities. The community, then, must share part of the blame for school failure. Recognizing this, the Superintendent's Advisory Committee offered a set of recommendations that describe what communities can do to enhance the achievement of African-American males.

Specifically, the committee found that:

- Beginning in fourth grade, African-American males were grossly underrepresented in advanced academic groups and courses -- a pattern that worsened from fourth grade through high school such that in twelfth grade only 44 black males were enrolled in calculus, and in 10th grade, twice as many black males were enrolled in special education English classes as compared to their enrollment in English classes for the Talented and Gifted;

- The mean grade-point average for African-American male high school students was 1.89, a level of attainment which implies that the average black male in our high schools would be ineligible to participate in extracurricular activities in view of our school system's 2.0 grade point average requirement for participation in school-sponsored sports and club programs;

- African-American males represent approximately one third of the total student enrollment, but comprise 47 percent of all students receiving special education services; and

- A review of textbook lists and library catalogues revealed only a superficial rendering of the perspectives and experiences of African-Americans, women and other cultural groups.

These startling findings led the Black Male Achievement Committee to submit the following recommendations for school change:

- Ensure that a majority of all student populations have access to and succeed in advanced levels of the curriculum.

- Examine the referral, assessment and treatment strategies used by the Special Education Program *vis a vis* their impact on black males.

- Replace what is now a Eurocentric curriculum with one that is multicultural.

- Offer increased support to families, especially those living in economically disadvantaged communities.

- Develop a student information system that provides a broader view of student progress and performance.

- Strengthen mentoring and internship programs to forge stronger ties between academics and the world beyond high school.

- Extend the length of the school year for teachers from 10 to 11 months to provide more time for professional development and additional instructional time for students during the regular school year.

Multicultural education is one topic that requires further discussion. Many social scientists argue that multiculturalizing the curriculum will lead to a lowering of standards and the "Balkanization" or "tribalization" of the American population. The so-called Eurocentric curriculum is viewed as a unifying force which presents a set of values that all groups can and should uphold. In practice, the Eurocentric curriculum is creating the very problems that many are now ascribing to multicultural subject matter. African-American parents and students who attended the Black Male Achievement Committee's hearings spoke of not learning much about the contributions of Africans and African Americans to the world and this society throughout their schooling, or being left with the notion that single most important aspect in the history of blacks was their experience as slaves in the United States or as European colonies in the case of Africa.

This perspective sends a powerful message to black and non-black students alike; a message that says that African Americans played no meaningful role in the development of this society and this world. The roots of black students associating academic achievement with "acting white" become easier to understand given a curriculum which emphasizes the accomplishments of Europeans and European-Americans combined with the underenrollment of African-American students in higher level academic courses. Multiculturalizing the curriculum simply means broadening the perspectives and information now used to teach world and American history, literature and language arts, and mathematics and science. Doing so will make African Americans and other groups feel more a part of the mainstream and thus increase, rather than reduce, the extent to which these groups feel a central part of the American experience.

The Committee made the following observations regarding the role of the community:

- The public has not held its local and national leaders responsible for providing the vision and resources needed to accomplish important education goals.

- Multicultural education is the joint responsibility of the family, the schools and the broader community.

- The community is responsible for reinforcing the view that academic excellence is an important goal and a viable life option for all students.

The Black Male Achievement Committee submitted the following recommendations for community action:

- Elect candidates for public office whose positions and records are consistent with the long-term health of the public school system.

- Increase the community's support for student achievement by establishing learning centers in local churches and youth activity centers.

- Define, communicate and model the values and behaviors essential to realizing the promise of the youth of our community.

- Given the growing reality of high family mobility, and the increasing numbers of single-parent families and two-parent families where both parents work, parents and community groups must work to establish family support organizations and networks that provide young people with the kind of support and guidance needed to excel in school to become model citizens.

At this point, the community and school system are in fundamental agreement about what should be done. The report has been reviewed and endorsed, by and large, by the county's school board, religious leaders, political leaders and community activists. What we thirst for is guidance on the whereabouts of strategies, materials and tools that will help us get the job done in our community and schools. To this end, my colleague, Dr. Michael Grady, will share with you some concerns about the role that federally-funded research and technical assistance activities can play in what has become a community-based effort to reform our nation's schools.

Chairman **Owens**. The Chair would like to note that we have a copy of the written testimony, and that written testimony will be entered into the record in its entirety. We also have a copy of your report, which will be retained by the committee for review. We would urge you to limit your remarks to about five minutes, and we will bring out more points during the question and answer period.

Dr. Grady.

Dr. **Grady**. Good morning, Mr. Chairman, and members of the Subcommittee on Select Education.

I, too, am pleased to have the opportunity to report to the subcommittee some observations from our study of black male achievement in Prince George's County. My presentation is presented as a companion piece to Dr. Simmons' prior testimony in which he cited an array of dismal school performance and participation indicators for black males who comprise about one-third of our total enrollment.

What I wish to do this morning is report to the subcommittee on two questions: First, what existing research did we use as a school system, when framing our own enquiries and subsequent policy changes? And, second, based on our assessment of the problems facing black males in elementary and secondary schools, what additional research would schools find most helpful in their efforts to devise instructional strategies which are effective for all students?

My responsibility in this study was to provide the Advisory Committee with data and analysis on the academic experiences of black males in Prince George's County. The committee was especially interested in how black males participated in the educational process, and how these patterns of participation differed from their classmates.

To frame this analysis, we turn to existing research on school organization and instruction. Several important studies helped us examine the problems incident to ability grouping and tracking. This is a literature which has been developing now for over a decade, yet the more recent studies and events seem to have awakened state and local educational organizations, including the National Governors Association.

I have listed in my testimony the five points, five general conclusions of the research. I will skip over that and go right to some of the action implications for the system.

These findings caused us to examine the nature and degree to which ability grouping and tracking practices existed in Prince George's County. In his earlier testimony, Dr. Simmons characterized for you the extent to which black males are handicapped by these practices.

The proportion of black males in advanced reading groups slips sharply after fourth grade. This appears to be the origin of a tracking problem which gains momentum during the middle grades. And by the time they reach tenth grade, black males are significantly underrepresented in advanced sciences, mathematics, social studies, and English. Conversely, they maintain a majority of the enrollment in many lower level, basic, remedial, or functional courses which contain little value other than providing credits for graduation.

Skipping a little bit more: The school administration and Board of Education of Prince George's County enacted several initiatives and policy changes in response to the mounting empirical evidence against ability grouping and tracking. First, the Board approved a new reading policy calling for the elimination of permanent ability grouping during elementary reading periods in favor of a more fluid, skill-based grouping practice.

Second, a math initiative was designed to align the K through 12 math program with the recommended standards of the National Council of the Teachers of Mathematics. This math initiative includes a goal of algebra completion for 85 percent of ninth graders.

Third, lower level courses in middle and high schools. Those reserved for students designated as below average, are targeted for elimination. And, finally, this array of restructuring efforts is wrapped within the school system's multicultural educational initiative which Dr. Simmons described.

I mention these at this time because they carry important implications for how we set our future national research agenda. The Prince George's County Public Schools have adopted policy level changes in how our schools organize for instruction. Admittedly, the step is probably the easiest in a long chain of events.

Largely by fiat, we have called for the elimination of ability grouping in elementary reading classes, increasing algebra enrollment, and in eliminating low-level courses in our high schools.

As Dr. Simmons reported earlier, a local consensus now exists in Prince George's County that substantive restructuring of our schools must occur if we hope to effectively meet the needs of all students. We now turn to Federal research centers, educational labs, or the proposed Institute for the Education of At-Risk Students for the technical assistance and program development we need to make this happen.

A first order need is the research and development of effective strategies to be used in the transition period during which a gap exists between policy changes and our schools' reservoir of schools and instructional methods needed to deal with the implications of the policy change.

The reduction of low-level courses in the secondary schools, and influx of students in pre-algebra and algebra courses, and simultaneous changes in elementary school programs, are posing challenges to our schools and teachers. For teachers and school administrators, the most urgent question is, how can we accomplish this major transformation of the instructional program while simultaneously maintaining high standards of performance and promoting success for all students.

Without transitional program support, one of two things will occur. The first is that standards will slip. In order to accommodate students who, but for the policy change, would still be in general track courses, teachers will cover less material and engage students in only the more basic elements of the curriculum.

On the other hand, if standards remain rigorous, but students do not receive the instructional support they need to engage in a more challenging program, many will fail. Thus, we turn to the research community to assist us in developing effective strategies to transition students back into the academic courses.

A second important area in need of research and development is teacher training. In light of the restructuring developments underway in many school systems, we can project new and greater demands on institutions of higher education which are now preparing our next generation of teachers.

Candidates for the teaching profession must understand that if they wish to teach in middle and high schools of the future, math teachers must be able and willing to teach algebra, geometry, and trigonometry. English teachers must be ready to lead challenging courses in literature and composition; and science teachers must have a grasp of academic level courses in biology, chemistry, and physics with heavy lab applications.

Educational R & D must focus on strategies to recruit able candidates for these positions, and then how to prepare them for a more rigorous classroom program using state-of-the-art instructional methods. In the meantime, we turn to the professional researchers for support in developing effective ways for preparing our current teachers for the classroom challenges of the nineties.

To close, in his September 12 letter inviting Prince George's County to participate in this hearing, the Chairman stated, and I quote: "The dearth of educational research in this area leads to the perpetuation of dangerous myths and common sense remedies based on folk wisdom, at best, and racial stereotyping, at worst."

I think this suggests one final area of future research, namely, the experiences of young, African-American men who have overcome social and institutional barriers to excel in high school and today stand among our most accomplished students and universities across America.

Those of us in educational research too often focus our inquiry on the casualties of American schools. Indeed, we can learn as much or more from those who prevailed against the odds.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Michael K. Grady follows:]

A PROPOSED AGENDA FOR RESEARCH ON STRATEGIES TO PROMOTE SCHOOL SUCCESS FOR AFRICAN-AMERICAN MALES

Michael K. Grady

Remarks Prepared For a Hearing of the
Subcommittee on Select Education
September 27, 1990

I am pleased to have the opportunity to report to the Subcommittee some of my observations from our study of black male achievement in Prince George's County. My presentation is presented as a companion piece to Dr. Simmons's prior testimony in which he cited an array of dismal school performance and participation indicators for black males who comprise about one-third of our total enrollment. What I wish to do this morning is report to the Subcommittee on two questions. First, what existing research did we as a school system rely on when framing our own inquiries and subsequent policy changes? And second, based on our assessment of the problems facing black males in elementary and secondary schools, what additional research would schools find most helpful in their efforts to devise instructional strategies which are effective for all students?

My responsibility in this study was to provide the Advisory Committee with data and analysis on the academic experiences of black males in Prince George's County. The Committee was especially interested in how black males participated in the educational process and how these patterns of participation were different from their classmates.

To frame this analysis we turned to existing research on school organization and instruction. Several important studies helped us examine the problems incident to ability grouping and tracking. This is a literature which has been developing now for over a decade, yet the more recent studies and events seem to have awakened state and local educational organizations, including the National Governors' Association. Taken as a group, these studies reached the following set of conclusions:

1. The permanent grouping of students by ability is the most common approach used to organize reading instruction in the elementary grades.

2. The performance gap between students in higher groups and students in lower groups widens the longer they remain separated.
3. Students in lower groups matriculate out of elementary schools without the requisite skills or knowledge to engage in challenging courses such as algebra and academic English and science courses, which tend to predict high school success and college entry.
4. The effects of ability grouping or tracking for higher achieving students are inconclusive, and clearly can not be justified in light of the harm it inflicts on their peers left behind.
5. The practice of ability grouping erodes the self-esteem of students in the lower groups.

These findings caused us to examine the nature and degree to which ability grouping and tracking practices existed in Prince George's County. In his earlier testimony, Dr. Simmons characterized for you the extent to which black males are handicapped by these practices. The proportion of black males in advanced reading groups slips sharply after fourth grade. This appears to be the origin of a tracking problem which gains momentum during the middle grades; by the time they reach tenth grade, black males are significantly under-represented in advanced sciences, mathematics, social studies and English. Conversely, they maintain a majority of the enrollment in many lower-level, basic, remedial or functional courses which contain little value other than providing credits for graduation. This analysis points to the importance for public school systems to cross-tabulate their student performance data by race and gender. This practice allows for a more precise reading of the status of the various student populations.

The school administration and Board of Education of Prince George's County enacted several initiatives and policy changes in response to the mounting empirical evidence against ability grouping and tracking. First, the Board approved a new reading policy calling for the elimination of permanent ability grouping during elementary reading periods in favor a more fluid, skill-based grouping practice. Second, a mathematics initiative was designed to align the K-12 math program with the recommended standards of the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM). The math initiative includes a goal of algebra-completion for 85 percent of ninth graders. Third, lower level courses in middle and high schools--i.e., those reserved for students designated as below average, are targeted for elimination. Finally, this array of restructuring efforts is wrapped within the school system's multi-cultural education initiative. This staff development program is intended to give teachers access to a broader range of effective instructional strategies and infuse the curriculum with the contributions, perspectives and experiences of all traditions.

I mention these at this time because they carry important implications for how we set our future national research agenda. The Prince George's County Public Schools have adopted policy-level changes in how our schools organize for instruction; admittedly, this step is probably the easiest in a long chain of events. Largely by fiat, we have called for the elimination of ability grouping in elementary reading classes, dramatically increase algebra enrollment in middle schools and eliminate low level courses in our high schools.

As Dr. Simmons reported earlier, a local consensus now exists in Prince George's County that substantive restructuring of our schools must occur if we hope to effectively meet the needs of all students. We now turn to the federal research centers, educational labs or the proposed "Institute for the Education of At Risk Students" for the technical assistance and program development we need to make this happen.

A first order need is the research and development of effective transition strategies, especially for middle and high schools. As we meet, the reduction of low level courses in secondary schools, an influx of students in pre-algebra and algebra courses and simultaneous changes in elementary school programs are posing challenges to our schools and teachers. For teachers and school administrators the most urgent question is "How can we accomplish this major transformation of the instructional program while simultaneously maintaining high standards of performance, and promoting success for all students." Without transitional program support one of two things will likely occur. The first is that standards will slip. In order to accommodate students who but for the policy change would still be in general track courses, teachers will cover less material and engage students in more basic elements of the curriculum. If standards remain rigorous but students do not receive adequate instructional support, many will fail. Thus, we turn to the research community to assist us in developing effective strategies to transition students back into academic courses.

A second important area in need of research and development is teacher training. In light of the restructuring developments underway in many school systems, we can project new and greater demands on institutions of higher education which are now preparing our next generation of teachers. Candidates for the teaching profession must understand that if they wish to teach in the middle and high schools of the future, math teachers must be able and willing to teach algebra, geometry and trigonometry; English teachers must be ready to lead challenging courses in literature and composition; and science teachers must have a grasp of academic level courses in biology, chemistry and physics with heavy laboratory applications. Educational R & D must focus on how best to recruit able candidates for these positions and then how to prepare them for a more rigorous classroom program using state-of-the-art instructional strategies.

To close, in his September 12 letter inviting me to participate in this hearing, the Chairman stated: "The dearth of educational research in this area leads to the perpetuation of dangerous myths and common sense remedies based on folk wisdom, at best and racial stereotyping, at worst." I think this suggests one final area for future research; namely, the experiences of young African-American men who have overcome social and institutional barriers to excel in high school and today stand among our most accomplished students in universities across America. Those of us in educational research too often focus our inquiry on the casualties of American schools; indeed, we can learn as much or more from those who prevailed against the odds.

Chairman **Owens**. Thank you. I need a couple of clarifications. I have Dr. Simmons saying that 65 percent of the students are African-Americans. Is that correct, 65 percent?

Dr. **Simmons**. Sixty-five percent, yes.

Chairman **Owens**. Because, Dr. Gray, you said one-third of males. That means——

Dr. **Gray**. That's right, half of this.

Chairman **Owens**. But, totally—males and females—65 percent of students are African-Americans?

Dr. **Gray**. That's right.

Chairman **Owens**. Dr. Simmons, you mentioned that in addition to your report, there is a similar report done in New Orleans, and I didn't catch the other city that you mentioned.

Dr. **Simmons**. Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Chairman **Owens**. Milwaukee. So Prince George's, New Orleans, and Milwaukee have all put out similar reports on this problem. Thank you.

Dr. W. Curtis Banks.

Dr. **Banks**. Good morning, Mr. Chairman, and committee.

I am happy to have the opportunity to speak on the subject. I am not happy about what it is that I have to speak about. As Dr. Grady just mentioned, one of the major concerns in education has been the failure of education to advance science. What I am asked to speak about today is the failure of science to advance education.

My comments will, perhaps, sound a little polemical because I will favor the committee and omit some of the specificity of details and data that are enumerated in these five manuscripts which I would like to submit to the committee for its reference.

Chairman **Owens**. Without objections, your manuscripts will be accepted by the committee for review.

Dr. **Banks**. I would like to turn our attention, as briefly as possible, to the basic problems that have arisen out of the attempt by science to understand that it resulted in the effect of misunderstanding black populations, male and female similarly.

The study of black populations focuses very early upon the issue of personality. There was a wide array of issues that could have taken the attention of scientists in the social sciences, but it is personality that they specifically focussed on; personality in large measure because it was a dispositional characteristic which allowed the focus of attention upon blaming the victims in the case of black populations.

Out of that focus upon personality, which has dominated scientific investigation in the black populations, there grew four major constructs: negative self-concept, external locus of control or sense of powerlessness; lack of motivation, and in particular, lack of intrinsic motivation; and the construct of impulsivity, or the inability to delay gratification.

These four constructs came to occupy the status of scientific icons being appealed to, to explain everything from educational failure, to criminality, to athletic performance, to poor occupational habits. As is the nature of scientific enterprise, once established in theory, these constructs themselves cease to be questioned except in regard to how many different forms of behavior they could explain or to what level of efficiency.

This has been the predominant state of affairs for the past 50 years, since at least the late 1930s when research began to be done most vigorously in the area of negative self-concept. It is only in the past 15 years that the existence, itself, of these personality characteristics in blacks has been questioned, and that these four constructs have come under criticism as scientific stereotypes.

Let's take negative self-concept. Negative self-concept was predicated on the research paradigm of racial preference and upon the hypothesis that black individuals prefer white characteristics. Upon close critical analysis, this hypothesis has been found to be unsupported. The preponderance of published research evidence actually indicates that black individuals have no racial preference, except for a moderate level of preference for black characteristics.

Let's look at external locus of control or sense of powerlessness. This notion or this construct was predicated on the hypothesis that black individuals express a denial of self-responsibility and an endorsement of the belief that external forces govern and shape their personal lives. Again, upon close critical analysis, it is apparent that the published research evidence has never supported this hypothesis.

The majority of research shows that blacks are internal in their locus of control beliefs. The remainder of the evidence indicates that they believe internal and external factors are roughly equal in importance in their personal lives.

Let's turn to lack of motivation. Much has been made of that. Lack of motivation has been a theoretical construct founded upon the notion that black individuals lack the ability to sustain effort at a task in the absence of intrinsic reinforcements. This general hypothesis, despite enormous quantities of research, was never examined in methodologically appropriate ways. When critical research was finally conducted, it was found that black individuals demonstrate intrinsic motivation that is virtually identical to that shown by white individuals.

If we look at impulsivity, we find exactly the same state of affairs. Impulsivity was founded upon the notion that black individuals prefer small, immediate rewards over more substantial gratification that requires planning, working, and waiting. The scientific evidence, however, shows something quite different. Given the choice between something small now, or something large later, black individuals show no preference.

Let me just make an aside here for a moment to give you some indication of why it is that what science has so seriously erred at, was so obvious in the first place. Research into impulsivity, or the inability to delay gratification, offered children a choice between two things: something that was small versus something that was large. The small thing, however, was now. The large thing was later. Black children consistently showed no preference. Why? Because something that is small, but now, may be worth roughly equal to something that is large but later. Completely overlooked, methodologically overlooked, and misconducted in hundreds of studies published throughout the scientific literature, established as a belief without any evidential support.

How, then, if the scientific evidence is so clear, can the scientific community be so confused? Largely as a result of the same forces that establish and sustain stereotypes within any community, because these stereotypes are simply maintained within the scientific community much as they are maintained within the public limited participation, for example. Too few researches account for the bulk of early research. Too little support has been provided for the critical mass of dissenting young scientists who emerged during the 1970s and mid-1980s.

Limited communication. Too few scientific journals are numbered among those journals publishing the research in these areas. Many major journals, in fact, have a peculiarly low incidence of publication in the areas of research on black population and the access to scientific journals has been restricted for new researches and innovative lines of inquiry. And insufficient criticism.

Aside from the limited scientific exchange that results from the restrictions upon participation and communication for new researchers, the extant community of established scientists has been peculiarly uncritical in these theoretical areas. And when serious reconstructive programs began to emerge in the late 1970s, the established scientific community was largely unable to incorporate the practice of that kind of critical research into the mainstream.

And, also, in a sense, what binds all of these problems together, that have contributed to this fundamental misunderstanding of what underlies behavior and performance in African-American males and females, is the fact that so little basic research has been supported and conducted during the period of the seventies and eighties, when finally the smoke of such galloping applied concern had cleared, and a new body of researchers was on the scene to provide innovative ideas.

So that research into issues of the performance and the productivity of black young people and young adults has, almost entirely over the history of scientific involvement, been applied research and virtually never basic research; basic research into the fundamental questions of why these individuals function the way they do, why they behave the way they do, what are the antecedents and the determinants of their performance, and the patterns of their productivity.

I should also say, as far as this goes, that it will be important, as we move in the direction through the Institute and through other initiatives as those contemplated by this committee, to acknowledge the relationship between what happens in education and what happens in the rest of the lives of these young people.

Because it is very interesting that the history of science in this area has separated the domains of education and work; when in fact the same basic antecedents, the same basic factors that govern performance in school, are likely to govern performance in the work place; and even though the same technological problems that exist to impede education and evaluation of performance in school, exist to impede education, training, placement, selection, and evaluation of performance in the work place.

For some reason, there has been a peculiar separation in the psychometrics and the educational technology as applied in schools and the psychometrics and training technology as applied to the work place, even though there is a terribly important relationship of continuity between these two domains for the young people that we are concerned with.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. W. Curtis Banks follows:]

A REVIEW OF SOME SCIENTIFIC MYTHS AND STEREOTYPES THAT IMPEDE THE EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS OF BLACKS

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I very much appreciate this invitation to present before this committee on the topic of myths and stereotypes that have evolved from research on Black populations. While we have devoted considerable effort to detailing much of what I will present here, with footnotes and references and specific data citations, I will forego that tedium here, at the risk of sounding perhaps at times a little polemical. However, the full details of evidence upon which all of the following claims are based can be found in five more lengthy manuscripts, copies of which I have separately submitted.

The decision in 1954 of the Supreme Court concerning the provision of equal and integrated educational opportunities in the United States set into motion an intensive scientific effort. At the same time it forced into focus for the fields of/education and the social sciences a dilemma whose resolution was inevitable. Against the background of general theories, national policies, and universal understanding there stood in bold relief the particular problems, the special needs, and the unique issues of Black and other depressed populations. In consequence, an enormous shift occurred in the energies devoted by educators and scientists to topics of educational technology and human development. This shift was away from largely unspecified but implicitly middle-class White populations, toward highly specific subpopulation domains of Black, Asian, Hispanic, Native American, poor, rural, mentally handicapped, physically disabled, female and other clearly distinguishable persons.

As a result, research and development over the past several years have been characterized by analyses of some relatively specific topics of social development, personality, and education in children, tailored to the particular theories and hypotheses believed relevant to each identifiable population. Black children have constituted a primary population domain for researchers in psychology and education; and a considerable body of research findings has accumulated on the role of motivation and aspirations, self-concept, powerlessness, and delayed gratification in the educational achievement of Black children. These and certain secondary variables have constituted the major framework of the the analyses devoted to the characteristics of the child as potential determinants of academic success or failure in Blacks.

The first order of concern was then as it continues to be now, the development of a technology by which constructive and immediate social change could be achieved, at the same time that basic knowledge is advanced. With respect to change, the record of the social sciences has been disappointing. Virtually none of the progressive programs growing out of the knowledge base of psychology and education proved either cost-effective or problem-effective with respect to enhancing the well-being or the opportunities of minority children. In the rush, the advancement

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of basic knowledge assumed a deferred priority; and as a result its failure, while equally severe, has gone relatively unnoticed.

Traditionally, the major theoretical constructs advanced in these efforts have been self-concept, locus of control, achievement motivation, and delayed gratification. Each of these constructs has provided a conceptual umbrella under which a panoply of subtheoretical and methodological programs has proliferated. What all of these programs share is a disappointing failure to adequately guide corrective policies. What they also share is an equally disturbing failure to establish the scientific credibility of social science research in the pursuit of our understanding of the basic problems with the education of Black individuals. The result has been the establishment of a scientific structure of myths and stereotypes about the self-hate, sense of powerlessness, lack of motivation, and the impulsivity of Black individuals. These scientific myths have persisted despite the clear lack of empirical evidence for their support.

Self-Concept

Research on Black behavior has been dominated by the topic of self-concept and by the paradigm of preference. White-preference behavior, as the evaluative choice of opposite-race charactersitics, was conceived as an operational definition of racial self-rejection in Blacks. A negative concept of self, which develops in minority individuals as a result of social rejection and negative labelling, has been believed to be manifested in a tendency to express evaluative and self-identification preferences in favor of White persons, dolls, puppets, and other representations.

Kenneth and Mamie Clark in their classic study of this phenomenon employed the paradigm of preference choices to investigate the development of Black youngsters. The misinterpretation of their findings has, in turn, fueled a continuing misunderstanding of the myth of self-hate and low self-esteem as antecedents to failure in Blacks.

Upon close critical examination it has been found that 69% of the research actually showed no-preference, 25% of the research actually showed Black-preference, while only 6% demonstrated a pattern of White-preference in Black subjects. Taken together, these findings were difficult to interpret. In one sense, such a predominance of chance responding in the selection of Black and White stimulus alternatives indicated the absence of bias. Alternately, such responding may reflect the difficulty subjects had in understanding the meaning or the signifcance of most of the evaluative tasks with which they were presented. In support of this latter interpretation is the fact that investigators repeatedly encountered high frequencies of no-responding in subjects, ranging from 1% of the sample in some studies up to 91% in still others. It is of interest to note also that such difficulties were often circumvented by procedural renovations which maximized the bias of task orders and experimenter demands. Clark and Clark, for example, found that it was necessary to present evaluative tasks prior to identification tasks in order to evoke opposite-race evaluative choices from their Black children.

Reliance upon White comparative frames has largely perpetuated the notion of Black self-rejection in the absence of definitive evidence of preference behavior in Blacks. Even in those investigations which employed only Black samples, implicit a priori standards tended to reflect presumptions about the desirability of such highly ethnocentric response sets as were common only in White samples.

The predominant pattern of Black choice responses has been at a chance level. Although it has been advanced that Black preferences have changed with the advent of racial pride movements in the 1960's, little actual evidence supports either the contention that Blacks rejected their own race prior to that period or have consistently preferred their own race since then. In fact, we may note that in the case of evaluative preference, those investigations which demonstrated White-preference as well as those demonstrating Black-preference were all conducted after 1960.

The evidence which linked the "phenomenon" of self-rejection to areas of social and educational functioning in Blacks has proven equally questionable. For example, one might expect that Blacks would with reasonable consistency be observed to express a conception of their own qualities and abilities for successful functioning as lower than those of White persons; and one would expect, as well, to find that success in such domains as school relates significantly to such racially-influenced self-assessments among Blacks. Considerable empirical evidence stands in opposition to both the former and the latter of these notions.

Similarly, within a poulation whose qualities of racial identification and valuation are supposed to work so destructively against a sense of personal optimism and worth, one would hardly expect aspirations toward intellectual/academic excellence and occupational/socio-economic mobility to obtain. Yet they do, and most often in measure equal to or beyond that of persons whose sense of racial identitiy ought to place them in a relatively superior position.

In short, scant evidence exists of the tendency of Blacks to express preference toward White characteristics. Furthermore, the validity of such a phenomenon as a predictor of preferences within the real world of social choices or as a predictor of educational aspirations or success is equally unsupported by scientific evidence.

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Locus of Control

In their report on educational opportunity in the United States, James Coleman and his associates in 1966 identified the Black child's sense of powerlessness as that construct, among those measured, which most significatnly related to academic failure. With the simultaneous emergence of the construct of locus of control, and its extension beyond White standardization samples into the domain of Black and other minority populations, Externality and sense of powerlessness became synonymous for a relatively stable feature of personality which characterizes many of the unsuccessful and disadvantaged in our society.

The fundamental meaning of the construct has remained surprisingly simple and explicit. Certain individuals are characterized by a belief or expectancy that significant reinforcements in their experiences are determined by factors which lie outside their own behavior or their capacity for control. Orlando Patterson argued that this deterministic orientation in Black Americans underlies a moral inferiority which impedes their success, enhances a sense of low self-concept, discourages hard work and fosters political apathy. Moreover, a considerable body of research has subjected these and related hypotheses to systematic empirical examination, with results that have been, at best, inconclusive. Like some other prominent psychological constructs and paradigms, the construct of Externality or sense-of-powerlessness, has failed to consistently predict, concur with, or discriminate among logically related aspects of personality and social behavior in Blacks.

With respect to the status of Black populations there are three possible fundamental patterns of locus of control. Blacks may be largely Internal, largely External, or largely neither. These categories are not entirely mutually exclusive, and neither are they as discrete as an idealized typological system. However, the evidence is clear, expecially in one respect: Blacks have not been shown to be External. In fact, more than half of the explicit evidence reported for Black samples indicates a clear Internal pattern of responding. The remainder of the published data fail to establish Blacks as either Internal or External.

On the face of it these findings are in no way surprising. In respect to conventional conceptions, however, these findings stand in sharp contrast. At least one reason for this is the fact that the reports of the findings within the published literature contradict the findings themselves. Forty-seven percent of the investigations refer narratively to Blacks either as External or as more External than Whites and others. Although nearly 60% of the studies reveal clearly Internal findings for Blacks, only 20% refer to Blacks as either Internal or as simply less Internal than Whites and others. In one sense, it seems an almost trivial semantic question whether Blacks are described as more External or less Internal than Whites within the largely comparative research paradigms employed in this area. But such a trivial decision would not be expected so often to be made in one direction. In 14 cases where the option clearly existed, 12 resulted in a "more External" characterization, only 2 resulted in the "less Internal" alternative. What makes this choice of words the more curious is that Whites are virtually never external. So how may Blacks be more so?

Coleman and his associates, for example, reported that Black children in their national sample made External responses in some cases at twice or even three times the rate as did White children. They then referred to the rates of such response for other minority children as "similarly higher" as those of Blacks. Yet these "high" rates never exceeded 23% of the Black sample; on two of the three items the rates of such responses were less than 12%. At the same time, the relatively high rate among Blacks of explicit nonendorsement of the Coleman External items went unmentioned, despite the fact that they exceeded the overall endorsement rate of External responses by three-fold in that sample, or the rate expected by chance alone.

Reviews of the literature have for the most part extended this misunderstanding. One investigator reported that "...Almost all the previous studies indicate that Negroes... have higher external scores..." Another went further, arguing that the accumulated research on Blacks has supported the position that external control expectations develop among the disadvantaged. Of course, neither these nor earlier reviews were concerned primarily with the absolute status of the evidence for Blacks per se. Most research has focused on the relative status of groups and individuals with respect to this trait (as compared to White samples), and the correlation of that trait status with other trait characteristics. Accordingly, reviews have tended to focus upon the evidence of the validity of externality in Blacks, rather than upon the existence of that trait characteristic. Yet, surprisingly, the accumulated evidence suggests that the construct has validity properties for Blacks which are different from (or even opposite) those that derive from the theory on which the construct is based. Even revisions of the construct aimed at its refinement in this light have not led to consistent findings for Black populations.

For instance, one researcher's findings that the Rotter locus of control measure failed to differentiate work-related experiences for Internal and External Blacks led him to conclude that "the . . . construct . . . appears to have a much better construct validity for Whites than for Blacks." Other researchers have found that while degree of Externality predicted scoring and number of assists for Black basketball players, degree of Internality predicted scoring and assists for Whites. In short, then, considerable speculation surrounds the question of whether locus of control is always measuring the same thing, or even whether, for Blacks, it can be said to measure anything at all. Moreover, the validity of Externality in Blacks seems at least as questionable as its existence.

Ironically, a confluence of theoretical misunderstandings is likely to have given this issue its initial momentum. Since validation research with White samples seemed to establish a relationship between Externality and low achievement, negative self-concept, and immediate gratification preferences, it seemed inevitable that External locus of control should obtain in Blacks. But critical reviews of the empirical literature deny a characterization of Blacks as deficient in self-concept, in achievement motivation, or as preferring immediate gratification. Therefore, while on the face of it, the evidence for non-Externality in Blacks was not so obvious, neither can it be surprising.

Motivation

The search for the important psychological antecedents of divergent patterns of achievement in Whites and Blacks has given rise to a wealth of literature on that topic. The conceptual thrust of the research may be characterized as falling largely into either of two (admittedly global and arbitrary) theoretical camps. On one hand, much energy has been devoted to uncovering the dispositional causes of poor achievement in Black persons. In this regard, empirical evidence has been accumulated on the motivational, intellectual and personality traits which distinguish White from Black populations, and high from low achievers. On the other hand, a considerable body of literature has been accumulated regarding the social-situational determinants of poor achievement in Blacks. Family and child-rearing factors, socio-economic status, teacher expectancies, and race of social others are just a few of the variables whose relationship to achievement orientations have been studied in survey and experimental research.

Central within this analysis has been the construct of motivation and the search for the specific mediating processes by which it affects achievement in Blacks. As would be expected, however, the findings reported within the literature are as diverse as the theoretical and methodological approaches from which they were generated. Although it may be conjectured, again, that such approaches fall into personal-dispositional vs. social-situational classifications, often the complexities of the hypothesized linkages between personal endowment and social experience defy a specific label.

One attempt to conceptualize the important motivational construct related to achievement behavior is represented in the work on achievement needs (n Achievement). That work has isolated the tendency of individuals to differ in the extent to which they express imagery related to goal striving and competition with standards of excellence. Such responses in the presence of ambiguous stimuli have been shown to relate systematically to overt achievement tendencies and have been interpreted as representing the individual's level of achievement need.

Within this conception of achievement motivation as a learned drive, a prominent theorist has remarked upon the early socialization and resultant personality deficiencies that underlie the failure of Blacks to achieve. According to his analysis, Blacks have been deprived by slavery of an opportunity to learn the self-discipline and initiative needed for them to seek reward through their own independent efforts. In addition to the learned dependency and absolute obedience that slavery has instilled, it has been argued that the matriarchal structure of Black families has led to the absence of strong role models of aggressive and competitive striving for Black children.

Several investigators have lent empirical support to some of these general propositions. Yet, it is of interest to consider that these investigators represent almost all of the evidence in support of the relative deficiency of Blacks in achievement motivation in the form of fantasy responses. What is more crucial to consider, however, is that other evidence suggests that these comparative analyses of the achievement needs of Blacks may be flawed by serious methodological error.

For example, Black and White seniors were tested from four high schools in Kentucky on the need to achieve. While it was found that there were overall race differences in the pattern described in their research, the comparison of Black and White subjects who were matched on I.Q. and parent occupation showed no differences in achievement motivation across those samples. Those investigators attributed this shift in the comparative status of Blacks to the relatively small sample sizes obtained when subjects were matched on the confounding variables. However, other researchers compared 91 Black subjects and 1216 Whites from a nationwide sample, controlling for the education, occupation, income level, and age of the comparative groups. They found that the percentage of high scorers within these samples was virtually the same (43% of Blacks and 49% of Whites, approximately) when confoundment from variables other than race was ruled out.

The major underlying assumption within this whole approach has been that differences in the achievement behaviors of Blacks and Whites may be traced to differences across these populations in the need to achieve. Few investigations, however, have succeeded in demonstrating a clear relationship between race and motivation, though several have similarly erred in their failure to separate the factor of race from such other variables as socio-economic status. The overall implication is that Black persons may not differ significantly from others in the level of motivation to achieve.

In fact, some evidence does indeed suggest that the construct of achievement needs is insufficient to account for achievement behaviors and outcomes on the part of Blacks. For instance, one study found that although a sample of Blacks scored lower on the achievement measure of motivation than did Whites, their level of achievement performance in school was virtually the same as that of Whites. Thus, the achievement-need construct appears as unable to explain similarities in behavior against apparently divergent levels of motivation as it is to explain the opposite. Furthermore, the construct seems as insensitive to individual differences in behavior among Blacks as it is to the differences in behavior between Blacks and Whites. Among a sample of American-self-identifiers and African-self-identifies, Blacks in the former group achieved significantly higher levels of success (GPA) in college although the two groups were indistinguishable in their measured need for achievement.

One possible explanation for this failure of the need achievement construct to predict achievement in Blacks may revolve around the impurities of such achievement outcome criteria as GPA. It has been observed that grade point averages themselves are potentially confounded measures of achievement, reflecting the perceptions and attitudes of teachers as much as the behavior and performance of students. One implication, therefore, is that the failure to relate the construct of n Achievement more directly to behaviors may underlie the apparent lack of validity of that measure for Blacks.

On the other hand, it is possible that this failure of the n Achievement construct to account either for convergence or divergence in either achievement outcomes or behaviors, either among Blacks or between Blacks and Whites, may represent the inadequacy of that measure rather than the invalidity of the construct of motivation in general. However, other measures of achievement motivation have yielded similarly inconclusive evidence of its relationship to achievement behaviors in Blacks.

Put simply, the empirical evidence fails clearly to support the utility of the construct of achievement motivation for Blacks. Perhaps such a simple construct of drive cannot be expected fully to explain or predict such complex behavior. Some theorists have conjectured that the moderating effects of related factors such as expectancies and value-attitudes may be expected to influence the expression of drive characteristics in overt achievement for Blacks. In this regard, several investigators have sought to conceptualize and demonstrate the impact of aspirations and self-perceived ability upon the achievement behavior of Black persons. But the actual research evidence shows Blacks to have higher, not lower, achievement aspirations than White students; and equal or higher, not lower, self-attributed academic ability than White students.

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Delay of Gratification

The delay of gratification has been conceptualized as the ability to forego immediate opportunities to satisfy impulses in favor of alternative opportunities which are more remote in time, but often of greater objective value. As such, the ability is one that is believed to distinguish those individuals who succeed and prosper by hard work, thrift, and self-control from those who are susceptible to the temptations of short-term gains and impulsivity. This conceptualization has lent itself to an analysis of class differences in socio-psychological functioning, of cultural differences which distinguish national groups, and of race differences in personality characteristics.

Some researchers argued that the lower class is characterized by "minimum pursuit of education", "low aspirations", a "readiness to engage in physical violence", and "free sexual gratification". In contrast, they described the middle class as characterized by a "deferred gratificaion pattern" of postponed sexual gratification, delayed economic independence (from parents), and thrift, all of which contribute to their relative achievement, economic success and social responsiblility.

Similarly, a number of studies have contributed scientific credibility to the myths about the inability to delay gratification among Blacks. Experimental research has been aimed at establishing the relationship of immediate gratification preferences to academic success, achievement motivation, social responsibility and psychopathology in that population. Moreover, some theoristis have conjectured that such an orientation toward immediate gratification is a result of a sense of impotence, unstable interpersonal relationships, and a disinclination to think about the future. A great deal of this line of theorizing is related indirectly to the empirical literature concerning father-absence, interpersonal trust, locus of control and conceptions of time.

Nonetheless, much of what theorists have inferred from research and conjectured regarding "a preference for smaller, immediate rewards" among Blacks stands in marked contrast to the actual data. The accumulated evidence largely refutes rather than supports the construct validity of immediate gratification preference among Blacks. Accordingly, with minor exception the evidence fails even to substantiate that such preference exists in the behavior of that population.

The inability to delay gratification in Blacks can be counted among White-preference, external locus of control, and lack of motivation in this respect. Notwithstanding the characterization offered of Blacks in much of the published literature, experimental data largely represent Blacks either as preferring delayed gratification or as indifferent toward immediate versus delayed rewards. The pattern of results among the thirteen most prominent studies is quite clear. Five investigations show Black samples as either entirely or primarily non-preferential toward the delay of gratification. Five reveal either entire samples or subsamples of Blacks as preferring delayed rewards. In only three instances of published research have (relatively limited subsamples of) Blacks displayed a preference for immediate rewards.

To be sure, such a trend, in itself, is not apparent in its meaning. Taken together the evidence may reflect a relatively consistent tendency among Blacks to distribute themselves normally around a central tendency of non-preference for delayed gratification. On the face of it, such a trend could not reject the thesis that orientations among Blacks toward delayed gratification may underly certain aspects of dysfunctional individual and social behavior. Going even further, it may be argued that the occasional selection by some Blacks of immediate reward alternatives is itself a behavior which differentiates those individuals from others, in the direction of dysfunctionality. In this sense the overall non-preferential trends could conceal a theoretically meaningful dichotomy of preference among Blacks.

These interpretations could be sustained by a strong and consistent covergence of evidence on construct validity. On one hand, Blacks as a group might be characterized by a lack of motivation to achieve, by negative self-concept, low aspirations or a sense of powerlessness; but none of these generalized characterizations is empirically accurate. On the other hand, those Blacks who prefer immediate rewards may be peculiarly unsuccessful, irresponsible, socially untrusting, or subjectively powerless relative to other Blacks; the accumulated data scarcely sustain this more limited hypothesis either.

Preference for immediate rewards has occasionally distinguished Black children of father-absent homes from those of father-present homes. More often it has not. This failure of father-absence consistently to distinguish delayed gratification preferences might rest largely with its rough approximation to the more specific variable of trust. Yet theorists have never been clear about precisely what cues evoke trust in Blacks or whether such sentiments, when aroused, play a significant role in the behavior of Blacks in the real world. One researcher's findings suggested that the sex of a rewarding agent is sufficient to cue learned distrust; another researcher argued rather that the agent's race was the critical feature; yet, the results of a third researcher suggest that neither factor is either necessary or sufficient. What is more, a fourth researcher has strongly argued that for those individuals most likely to feel distrust, it might not matter anyway.

While Blacks who prefer immediate rewards may be more acquiescent that others, they do not perceive themselves as less capable of controlling their reinforcement outcomes. While they

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may display less achievement in their fantasy expressions, such expressions may not distinguish them from high achievers, nor may immediate gratification preferences influence their actual success. With respect to social responsibility it is paradoxical that the same characteristic which distinguishes between normal youngsters and juvenile delinquent youngsters fails to distinguish individual differences within the delinquent population.

Naturally, such a complete state of scientific confusion is not due to any one problem. That the phenomenon of delayed gratification choices in Blacks has attained so equivocal a status is likely due to limitations in both its theoretical and methodological development.

This overall state of affairs in the social sciences has its roots in several problems surrounding research, dissemination, and knowledge application with Black populations. First of all, many innovative researchers have been limited in their opportunities to develop research programs, either by lack of financial support, or by the lack of the kind of intellectual freedom that is accorded by tenure in major research institutions. Second, such research programs, even when developed, have been limited in their dissemination through scholarly publication, there being too few professional journals willing to publish critical or innovative work on Black populations. Third, the level of discouragement experienced by educational practitioners, as a result of the limited success of programs and policies growing out of the erroneous knowledge base reviewed here, has made them even more reluctant to pursue the less well developed, albeit more innovative, program implications of recent research, especially with ever-shrinking public resources.

The kind of institute which this committee is considering could significantly advance knowledge and application for at-risk educational populations such as Black youngsters, in all three of these areas. The establishment of grant programs to seed new research and to help especially new researchers could foster innovative knowledge development and reattract the attention of both new and established scholars to this topic. The establishment of a professional refereed journal, devoted to both basic and applied research, would add a needed source of dissemination for research and demonstration projects that reach out beyond the established paradigms and failed constructs of the 1960's and 1970's. The institute could also provide support for the application of developed programs and technologies.

It will be important for the institute to acknowledge the need for a vigorously critical approach in research and development, the kind of open and constructive mutual criticism among scholars that prevents the proliferation of scientific myths and misinterpretations. Ultimately, this can only arise out of an avoidance of any one favored way of thinking or any one favored community of professionals, defined either by discipline, ethnicity, gender, or ideology. After all, the same diversity exists among the at-risk populations our society is so concerned about.

Finally, a special asset of the proposed institute could be its attention to the relationship between the problems of educational technologies with at-risk children in the schools and vocational technologies with those same at-risk young adults in the workplace. Many of the same basic problems of validity in explanatory constructs and performance measures in education apply to problems of selection, testing, placement, training, and evaluation on the job. If we are erring in not optimizing educational potential at age 10, we are similarly erring in not recognizing and optimizing occupational potential at age 20. In a number of instances the same technology of measurement, test design and validation, program development, and performance evaluation are at work to hamper the success of young people in both arenas. Past research has paid too little attention to those relationships, or to the opportunity for meaningful professional exchange among researchers and practitioners working in each of those domains.

Chairman **Owens**. Thank you.

Dr. Jomills Braddock.

Dr. **Braddock**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I welcome the opportunity to comment on how America's schools can help to reverse the current patterns of academic underachievement among African-American males, in particular, and other underserved students generally.

I would like to say it is my personal belief, and the guiding principle of our Center, that all children can learn, and that it is the schools' and teachers' responsibility to provide appropriate and optimal opportunities for the learning to occur. It is in that spirit that my comments are offered.

If we are to solve the critical problems facing the African-American males, our schools must begin to improve the education of all students. This applies at each level of schooling, from elementary and secondary through higher education. While many of the special problems of African-American males are complex, and in some instances transcend the role of schools, I believe that, given the will and commitment, solutions are realistically obtainable within the school improvement frameworks based on the principle that all children can learn.

We must seek new organizational forms to resolve the problems faced by African-American and other students. These include alternatives to tracking and ability grouping that currently deflate the average and low achieving students' self-images and depress their performance, alternatives to current evaluation and report card practices that currently punish poor performance students without recognizing their growth and progress, alternatives to passive lecture and seatwork and instructional approaches that bore and alienate students, and alternatives to fixed time schedules for learning and testing that penalize students who could perform satisfactorily if given more time.

I also believe that school improvements which enhance the academic success of African-American males will be beneficial to other students as well. Thus, although there may be a need for some targeted strategies to boost the African-American male achievement, there are many promising and effective school and classroom-wide interventions which can be generically implemented. I will discuss one example of a targeted strategy and devote more attention to several broad-based school and classroom level interventions.

In regard to targeted interventions, there has been increasing attention to the idea of single-sex classes. Proponents of all African-American male classes argue that the positive role image of African-American male teachers would enhance the aspirations and self esteem of young boys who often view academic success as feminine or as "acting white."

Opponents contend, on the other hand, that all African-American male classes violate civil rights laws and that such sex-segregated classes could actually prove detrimental. Although the evidence, the research-based evidence, on single-sex classes is limited and somewhat mixed, there do appear to be hints of potential benefits in terms of academic performance and a sense of fate control, as Dr. Banks just noted, to warrant further experimentation with variations that do not threaten the civil rights of other student groups, such as the project being implemented in Baltimore and Washington by concerned black men utilizing male volunteers in the early elementary grades in regular classroom settings.

However, even if future developments on this issue show great promise for improving the educational success of young African-American males, the growing shortage of African-American teachers in general, and the long standing under supply of elementary certified male teachers, regardless of race, constitute major roadblocks to widespread adoption of single-sex classes as a viable strategy. This strategy is also limited in its application to secondary level instruction where there are considerable numbers of male teachers represented.

Turning to broad-based interventions, I would like to highlight seven different strategies. Broad-based interventions often require dramatic restructuring of school and classroom organizational structures. Instead of the current focus of school restructuring initiatives that address issues of teacher professionalism through site-based management and shared decision-making, I would argue for refocusing the efforts in school restructuring to emphasize improving the core technology of schools, the teaching and learning context. If school restructuring doesn't change what goes on in the classroom, it is not likely to have any impact on improving student outcomes.

The seven alternative strategies that I would like to highlight, follow: First, alternatives to tracking and ability grouping are essential. Research on the effects of curriculum tracking and grouping indicate the need for change in school organization and practice. As the Prince George's County report and other national studies show, the curriculum tracking effects are especially negative for African-Americans, as well as Latinos, and American Indians. For these and other reasons, several alternatives have been proposed.

One appealing alternative involves cooperative learning in which students work in small mixed ability groups. This particular strategy has been found to be particularly effective in two ways: in boosting the achievement of both high and low-performing students in the mixed ability teams, and in promoting more positive cross-group relations in mixed school settings.

In addition, there are a number of other alternative strategies to address the problem of tracking and ability grouping in our schools. These include more flexible approaches, where tracking and ability grouping will be limited to key subjects that require some prerequisite knowledge, such as math or English only, and using heterogenous ability groups in other subjects. These practices are being tested in a variety of settings in schools around the country now and show some potential for addressing the problem of rigid and inflexible tracking.

In addition, there is a need to use appropriate subject matter tests for making placements when grouping is used. Often, a single criterion based on some composite achievement is used to determine students' placement across all of their subjects. This ignores the fact that students can be high in math performance and low in reading, for example. When grouping is used, it should be based on a subject matter specific test.

In addition, there is a need to provide coverage of core curriculum topics for all subjects. For example, algebra should be provided to students in the middle schools and early high school grades at all math performance levels. A variety of districts are also experimenting with this option.

There are more ambitious alternatives, such as replacing tracking altogether, with the use of in-class ability grouping combined with cooperative learning methods.

The issue in regard to tracking and ability grouping, based on the evidence, seems fundamentally not whether or not to eliminate tracking, but how to develop alternative practices that are flexible and appropriate to a specific school in context.

The second issue that I would like to address, concerns effective preschool and elementary programs. At this level, restructuring will often require comprehensive school-wide efforts, such as the success for our project which has been developed by colleagues at our Center.

This model is designed to assure that by the end of third grade, every child will be performing at or above level in reading and other basic skills, and to maintain that performance throughout the elementary years.

Retentions in special education referrals are also reduced and eliminated. The idea is that, by the use of preschool, extended-day kindergarten, and research-based instructional programs, in addition to family support, one-to-one tutoring and home interventions, virtually all students can perform at optimal levels. Results from the first two years of this initiative in sites in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and other locations, including Charleston, South Carolina, indicate that it is delivering on that promise.

This particular strategy, although it wasn't designed to directly address African-American male achievement, has been most effective with students who are performing at the lowest quartile in terms of reading performance in the early grades. And I would add that African-American males tend to be overrepresented in that group. So the most dramatic gains are among categories where African-American males are overrepresented.

The third issue I would like to address has to do with alternative incentive systems. As currently practiced, report card marks and grades are not motivating for students. Primarily because many students who enter a grade performing at low levels, find that it is difficult to move up in the distribution in their classes, so they don't have a chance of receiving positive feedback under traditional grading systems. This is especially true for boys who often begin the year far behind grade level in achievement.

Research suggest that adding progress grades to relative class rank, or handwritten comments in each subject, can offer significant potential assistance in improving student motivation and boosting performance. The result of two studies at our Center suggest that alterations in grading practices of this sort may reduce nonpromotions and dropout rates while increasing achievement. And given the fact that males are more likely than females to be unrecognized and under-rewarded under traditional grading practices, these kinds of alternatives may be particularly beneficial to African-American male youth.

The fourth strategy regards active learning, which research suggests is important to developing reasoning, critical thinking, and problem-solving skills. However, in many schools serving large numbers of African-American students, active learning is viewed as a threat to order and discipline.

The tendency in these schools is to provide highly structured drilling practice and passive programs in order to ensure mastery of basic skills rather than focus on higher order skills.

Chairman **Owens**. Dr. Braddock, we are a little pushed for time, and we do have a copy of your written testimony.

I would like for you to comment on the section on sports participation, and then sort of bring it to a conclusion.

Dr. **Braddock**. The research that we have done early on on sports participation, highlight its importance as a student engagement component. In the social system of secondary schools, our studies show, for example, that both African-American males and other students benefit academically from being involved in interscholastic sports. The benefits show up in terms of college attendance rates, college completion rates, high school grades earned, participation in the academic as opposed to vocational and general tracks, and the like.

These impacts of athletic participation are over and above the kids' social class background and standardized test performance.

I would like to add, in sum, in regard to future research directions, there are a couple of issues that I think deserve systematic attention, and I am sure they will be addressed in later testimony, but I would like to reinforce that.

One has to do with the dearth of current knowledge on effective practices for high schools. At the secondary level, there is no compendium of what constitutes effective interventions comparable to what now exists at the elementary grades and what led to the development of the school-wide approach undergirding success for all.

There are data from national surveys showing that nearly 60 percent of American high schools report having Chapter I programs, but there is limited or no knowledge about what programs exist and how effective they are. I think research is needed to gain a better understanding of how these compensatory efforts can be more effectively implemented at the secondary level.

I think we also need to know more about what kinds of initiatives in the arena of multicultural education, which has come up in earlier testimony, and will be addressed later, will prove effective.

At present, we are in the second generation of calls for multicultural education, yet there is no solid evidence of its impact on student outcomes although intuitively there are sound reasons for believing that it will have positive impact on student outcomes apart from the justifiability of its inclusion to balance the overall curriculum. We sorely need systematic research on this issue if we are to improve the education of African-American males and other students.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Jomills Henry Braddock II follows:]

Improving the Education and Achievement of African American Males

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Testimony prepared for presentation to the Subcommittee on Select Education, Committee on Education and Labor, U. S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C.

Improving the Education and Achievement of African American Males

Background

Good Morning! My name is Jomills Henry Braddock II, and I am Director of the Center for Research on Effective Schooling for Disadvantaged Students (CDS), Johns Hopkins University. I welcome the opportunuty to comment on how America's schools can help to reverse the current patterns of *academic underachievement* among African American males, in particular, and other underserved students generally.

It is my personal belief, and the guiding principle of CDS, that all children can learn and that it is the schools and teachers responsibility to provide appropriate and optimal opportunities for learning to take place. It is in that spirit that my remarks to you are offered.

This hearing addresses one of the most pressing problems in American education, and indeed in American society today -- the current patterns of *academic and consequent economic underachievement* among African American males. The current plight of African American males has been characterized in such dire and provocative terms as a "crisis" of national proportions and as a "conspiracy" to destroy a major segment of the American population. The alarming tenor of these accounts reflect a growing concern within and outside the African American community in particular, about the disquieting but all too familiar statistics indicating that the life chances of African American males -- on almost every measure of educational and career success -- are worse than any other population segment in our society. And the situation is deteriorating. For example, consider the following trends: First, recent data from the U.S. Department of Education reveal that large numbers of African American males are falling below the modal grade for their age group (e.e., the modal grade for 13-year-olds is the eighth grade) which research suggests places them at-risk of dropping out of school. Data for 1985 show, for example, that among 8-year olds, African American males are 35 percent more likely than white males to fall below their modal age grade (32.4% vs. 24%) while 13-year olds African American males are roughly 52 percent more likely than their white counterparts to fall below their modal age grade (44.2% vs. 29.1%); Second, despite national trends indicating a substantial closing of the gap in high school completion rates of African American males compared to white males, college enrollment patterns of African American males declined -- in relative and absolute terms -- despite an increase in the number of high school graduates from high schools with college preparatory courses; Third, for every 100 African American female college graduates there are 77 males while for every 100 African American female high school graduates there are just 65 similarly educated males; Fourth, despite some recent overall employment gains, African Americans remain unemployed at a rate more than double that of White Americans; Young African American males are also more likely than Whites not to be in the labor force -- i.e., neither employed nor seeking work; and fifth, for African American males age 20 to 29, average real income fell by 27.7 percent between 1973 and 1987, a much deeper drop than the 17.8 percent recorded by all men the same age.

Improving the Academic Achievement of African American Males

If we are to solve these critical problems, our schools must begin to improve the education of all students, especially African American males. This applies at each level of schooling -- from elementary and secondary school through higher education. While many of the special problems of African American male underachievement are complex and in some instances transcend the role of schools, I believe that, given the will and commitment, solutions are realistically attainable within school improvement frameworks which are based on the fundamental principle that "all" children can learn.

We need to address specific problems at each level of schooling to meet the developmental stages of students. Education that provides African American children with a strong foundation of basic skills and confidence in their ability to learn in their early years is clearly the best approach to prevent serious problems in middle and high school grades. Thus we need effective programs such as Success for All, STaR, and others that focus on early and elementary education. At the same time, education that creates a challenging and supportive learning environment

-- an environment that motivates students to care about and dedicate themselves to their school work as they move through adolescence -- must also be provided for all students. Thus we also need programs of effective education in middle grades and high schools. I have attempted to raise what seem to me to be some of the key issues in balancing equity and excellence in school improvement, across the grades.

For more than ten years, the "effective schools" movement has been a major source of theory and a guide to practice on improving schools for the disadvantaged. Despite ack edged weaknesses in the scientific bases of some parts of the effective schools approach many educational leaders of large districts serving disadvantaged populations have testified that the effective schools perspective has proven useful in their efforts to reform troubled schools. And, the effective schools literature has convinced many educators and policy makers that urban children in urban schools can succeed.

We must seek organizational forms to resolve the problems faced by African American and other students. These include alternatives to tracking and grouping practices that currently deflate average and low achieving students' self-image, alternatives to current evaluation and report card practices that currently punish poor students without recognizing or guiding improvement, alternatives to passive lecture and seatwork instructional approaches that currently bore and alienate students, and withhold the joy and excitement of learning, and alternatives to fixed time schedules for learning and testing that currently penalize students who need more time to learn and assure their failure.

The goal is to identify the components of school organization and classroom practice that are especially important for most students, that can be translated into practice, and that will predictably contribute to measurable "outcomes" of importance. For African American students, the important results of improved school and classroom organization are: higher rates of attendance, fewer dropouts, fewer retentions, more students on-grade level in reading, math, writing, science, social studies and foreign language, more students prepared for the academic programs in high school, more students with clear aspirations for high school and post-secondary education and careers, more students with positive attitudes about themselves as students and about school as a place that helps them prepare for their future.

I also believe that, in general, most school improvements which enhance the academic success of African American males will be beneficial to other students as well. Thus, although there may be a need for some specific targeted strategies to significantly boost the achievement of African American males, there are many promising and effective school-wide interventions which can be generically implemented. I will discuss a few targeted strategies and devote more attention to broad-based school and classroom level strategies for improving student (and African American male) achievement.

Targeted Intervention Strategies

Single-Sex Classes: In response to widespread patterns of academic underachievement among African American males there is growing interest among some in the educational community with the rather radical ideas of establishing single-sex/single-race classrooms. Under such a plan elementary-school-age boys would have African American men as their teachers to provide positive same-sex/same-race male role models who themselves have achieved success via traditional educational channels. Proponents of single-sex/single-race classes argue that the positive role image of African American male teachers would enhance the aspirations and self-esteem of young boys who often view academic success as "feminine" or as "acting white." Opponents contend, however, that all African American male classes violate civil rights laws and that such sex-segregated classes could actually prove detrimental -- intensifying any existing feelings of anger or inferiority among African American young men. Further, it is argued that there is no clear link between self-esteem and academic perofrmance and that young African American boys can be effectively taught by individuals from many different groups -- not just African American men.

Sound empirical research with large samples on the effects of single-sex schooling is sparse. One of the best recent large scale studies involved analysis based on the Catholic school subsample of the High School and Beyond 1980 Sophmore Cohort (Riordan, 1990). The inferences which can be drawn from this study about the possible benefits of all African American male classes is indirect and limited because the study involved Catholic schools only and the analyses pooled the Latino and African American subsample prohibiting direct inferences about African American males. Nevertheless, the study found that in single-sex schools after statistically controlling on initial test performance differences and home background factors (including SES, number of siblings and mothers employment status) in addition to school-based factors (i.e., curriculum course work, homework, and adolescent subculture), African American and Latino males combined develop a greater sense of environmental control than do their counterparts in mixed-sex schools. On cognitive achievement test outcomes, the advantage for African American and Latino males in single-sex schools controlling for initial ability and home background differences is washed away when school based factors are included in the analysis. While these results provide some mixed evidence favoring affective developmental outcomes (locus of control) among African American and Latino males in single-sex schools one must recall that this study is based on single-sex Catholic *schools* and the findings might be different for a sample of all African American male public school *classrooms*.

However, reports of a brief experiment with single-sex classes for African American kindergarten and first grade boys in Miami found gains in attendance and test scores and a noticable decrease in classroom conflict (*Time*, May 1990). But this pilot program was discontinued after one year because of concern over Title IX civil rights compliance.

An alternative community-sponsored approach designed to avoid the civil rights concerns raised about the Miami single-sex class experiment was developed by Dr. Spencer Holland in conjunction with the Washington, D.C. chapter of Concerned Black Men. This school based initiative trains African American male adult volunteers to work in regular mixed-sex elementary classrooms as teaching assistants and to serve as one-on-one mentors to young boys in the primary grades. While preliminary anectdotal reports appear promising and the model has been adopted at othel locations, this type of intervention has yet to be scientifically evaluated. There are also a growing number of broad-based "mentoring" programs that are not gender-specific but which seem to hold considerable promise for young African American as well as other students (Nettles, 1990).

Although the evidence on single-sex classes is limited and somewhat mixed there appears to be enough hints of potential benefits to warrant further experimentation with variations that do not threaten the civil rights of other student groups. Yet even if future developments on this issue show great promise for improving the educational success of young African American males, the growing shortage of African American teachers and the long-standing under-supply of elementary certified male teachers, regardless of race, constitute major roadblocks to widespread adoption of single-sex classes as a viable strategy unless significant steps are also taken to increase the supply of African American (and other race) male teachers. In addition, this strategy is primarily directed toward early intervention in the elementary grades and may be less important or require significant modification in the secondary grades where male teachers are in greater supply. But African American males in middle- and high- schools can also benefit from more responsive and effective schooling experiences. However, the most effective strategies for improving the educational success of this group are likely to result from improvements in overall school practice. I will next describe several promising school improvement and school restructuring strategies for improving the achievement of *all students, especially African American males.*

Broad-Based Intervention Strategies

Notwithstanding the major outside impediments to learning that many African American students must overcome, it is my firm belief that we are likely to achieve the greatest success in improving the achievement of African American males if we direct our attention and energies toward making our schools more responsive to *diverse* student needs. Although recent reforms calling for higher standards and more rigorous curricula are important, we also must insure that the diversity of needs and interests of African American and other minority students -- those who most need excellent schools but are most often shortchanged and underserved -- are adequately met by our schools.

Schools must become places that provide educationally sound opportunities that are fair and equitable for African American students to really succeed at schoolwork, and insure that school success is a positive event in their immediate lives and for the future.

Schools must be organized to activate the energies and allegiance of African American students. Students must see schoolwork as a better investment of their time and energy than non-school alternatives. Students must be helped to make orderly, continuous, and demonstrable progress so that they recognize their own achievement in all subjects. This is a heavy order for the schools -- and the teachers, in particular. It will require dramatic restructuring of school and classroom organizational structures, academic instruction, and human relationships. So, instead of the current focus of school restructuring initiatives to achieve greater teacher professionalism -- through site-based management or shared decision-making, I would like to refocus our efforts on school restructuring to place a special emphasis on improving the core technology of schools -- teaching and learning. There is already considerable evidence about what the barriers to effective schooling are and there is growing evidence about which educational interventions are effective. Some examples follow:

(1) Alternatives to Tracking/Ability Grouping: Research on the effects of curriculum tracking and ability grouping indicate the need for changes in school organization and classroom ptactice. There may have been a time when curriculum tracking in schools did actually coincide with the needs of the society and the economy outside of schools -- that is, a number of academically proficient students were needed to pursue further education and careers that depended upon

that education, while a number of non-academically oriented students were needed to enter the workforce directly and perform the important and even well-paying jobs that required less education. This situation has changed dramatically, but curriculum tracking still exists and is widely practiced in American schools today.

The effects of curriculum tracking and ability grouping are especially negative for African Americans, Latinos, and American Indians. For these subgroups, our analyses show no real movement out of general and vocational track programs into academic programs over a ten-year period. African American and Latino students constitute our largest minority populations and the future economic health of the country depends upon their access to a high quality education (Braddock, 1990).

The maldistribution of students across tracks and ability groups and their effects on adult literacy outcomes make clear that if schools are to meet the requirements of our economy for a more highly skilled future workforce (especially in light of changing demographics) public schools must provide more equitable access to "learning opportunities" which cultivate reasoning, inference, and critical thinking. Accomplishing this important shift in educational policy will require major school restructuring efforts that encourage effective alternatives to tracking and between-class ability grouping. For these and other reasons, several alternatives to ability grouping have been proposed.

An appealing alternative to ability grouping proposed by Oakes (1985) and Newman & Thompson (1987), among others, involves cooperative learning instructional methods in which students work in small, mixed- ability learning teams. Research on cooperative learning has found that when the cooperative groups are rewarded based on the learning of all group members, students learn consistently more than do students in traditional methods (Slavin, 1983). Thus cooperative learning offers one plausible alternative to ability grouping which takes student diversity as a valued resource to be used in the classroom rather than a problem to be solved.

Braddock & McPartland (1990) describe several other possibilities. Flexible grouping processes offer other alternatives to tracking. These processes include limited tracking only in math and/or English but not in other subjects; using appropriate *subject-matter tests* to make student placements in the selected subjects; making all groups as heterogeneous as possible, even in tracked classes; and providing coverage of core subjects (such as Algebra) to students at all levels. If there are nine sections in 9th grade math, for example, these sections can be subsumed under two or three broad groups, so there will be less stigma and more equitable access to learning opportunities for all students.

There are more ambitious alternatives -- such as replacing tracking entirely in elementary and middle grades with the use of within-class grouping plus cooperative learning methods, or with the use of competency-based curriculum in multi-grade groupings, as in the Joplin Plan.

Effective and innovative responses to student diversity do not just happen. Educators and researchers agree that substantial investments by school systems in staff training may be required to substantially alter current patterns of ability grouping and tracking. Thus if educators are to insure equal educational opportunities and to provide *every* student with *opportunities to learn* to their fullest potential, it is necessary to know more about both how to deal with student diversity and how to train teachers to do so.

Examining current research based evidence, the issue of tracking for African American and other race-ethnic student subgroups may not be a yes-no question of whether to favor or oppose tracking or between-class ability grouping. Rather, it is an issue of considering and evaluating *alternative instructional approaches* to each as primary ways to deal with student diversity.

(2) *Effective Preschool and Elementary Programs*: The most essential goals of early and elementary programs must be to see that all students leave the elementary school with a firm basis in basic skills, a positive self-concept, and a love of learning. Assuring this outcome as a

minimum standard for all students requires phased interventions throughout students' school careers.

One example of a comprehensive plan of this kind is our Success for All program (Slavin et al, 1989; Madden et al, 1989), currently being implemented and evaluated in six schools in Baltimore plus one each in Philadelphia, Charleston, South Carolina, and rural Berlin, Maryland. All but one of these schools (the one in Berlin) is a Chapter 1 schoolwide project, meaning that at least 75% of students receive free lunch and all students can benefit from Chapter 1 monies.

The Success for All program uses many of the programs identified in our review of effective programs for students at risk (Slavin, Karweit, & Madden, 1989). It usually provides developmentally appropriate preschool and extended-day kindergarten programs, and always provides one-to-one tutoring to students in grades 1-3 who are having the greatest difficulty in reading. The tutors are certified teachers who also teach a reading class, reducing class size in reading. Success for All schools use a specially designed beginning reading curriculum which uses phonetically regular minibooks, whole-class instruction, partner reading, story telling and retelling, and other elements derived from research on early reading instruction. Beginning at the primer level, a form of Cooperative Integrated Reading and Composition (Stevens et al., 1987) is used. Students are assessed in reading every eight weeks, and the assessment results are used for grouping and to determine which students are in greatest need of tutoring. Cooperative learning programs are also used in writing/language arts and in mathematics.

A program facilitator works in each Success for All school to help teachers implement the program, and a family support team helps build positive school-home relations deals with problems of attendance, behavior, nutrition, health, and so on.

The goal of Success for All is to see that every student ends the third grade at or near grade level in reading and other basic skills and maintains that level through the fifth grade. Retentions and special education referrals are reduced or eliminated. The idea is that by use of strategies to prevent learning problems (preschool, extended-day kindergarten, research-based instructional programs, family support) and to provide early and intensive interventions when learning problems appear (tutoring, home interventions for attendance and other problems), virtually all students can succeed on time and in the mainstream. Results from the first and second years show that the program is on the way toward meeting its goals; reading achievement in grades 1-3 approached the 50th percentile on individually administered reading tests (the control group averaged at the 28th percentile), and retentions and special education referrals were drastically reduced (see Slavin, Madden, Karweit, Livermon, & Dolan, 1989).

(3) *Altering School Incentive Systems*: Even though marks and grades as currently used in classrooms can be critized as potential rewards because they produce negative teacher-student relations and poor student motivation, the school reform proposals of recent years have failed to address how school incentive systems could be changed to improve student motivation.

Grading practices change as children progress through school in such a way as to increasingly emphasize individual differences in performance (Stipek & Mac Iver, 1989). Further, middle grades teachers use more stringent criteria in assessing student competency than do elementary school teachers (Eccles & Midgley, 1989). As a result, most students receive poorer grades in middle school than in elementary school, even though their performance on cognitive and achievement tests generally improves (Stipek & Mac Iver, 1989). The shift toward more rigorous grading upon entry into the middle grades increases the danger that average- and below-average students will suffer a crisis of confidence in their academic abilities and will begin adopting counterproductive, effort-avoidant strategies (Mac Iver, Stipek, & Daniels, 1990; Mac Iver, 1988). After successive terms of being unable to move up in class rank to merit high grades, most below average students will cease placing high value on top grades and turn their efforts to other pursuits where positive rewards are more accessible. Thus, success in sports, in student social life, or even in delinquent activities -- rather than academic pursuits -- come to dominate the interest and energies of many students in the middle and secondary grades. Girls may be less suceptible than boys to this danger because they receive higher grades than boys during the middle shcool years (Mac Iver, 1990b).

Report card marks are motivating for students only if they believe that they have a shot at obtaining a desireable grade if they work hard. Unfortunately, under traditional grading systems, many students -- especially those boys who begin the year far behind grade level in achievement -- find it impossible to obtain a desireable grade even if they work hard. Secondary school report cards often do not adequately recognize the progress that these students make, because even dramatic progress may still leave them near the bottom of the class in comparative terms or far from the "percent-correct" standard needed for a good grade. Adding progress grades or handwritten comments in each subject to middle school report cards offer two potential solutions to the inaccessibility of desirable achievement grades during the middle and high school years.

Progress grades provide students with official recognition for doing better than they have done in the past in specific subjects. A report card that includes progress grades along with the traditional achievement grades allows low achievers who are displaying consistent improvement to receive "A's" or "B's" in progress even if their performance levels and achievement grades are low relative to other students. As a result, progress grades may encourage students to work harder and to maintain or enhance their self-efficacy as learners, even if they cannot be the best students in the class. Similarly, handwritten comments may motivate students to work harder by letting them know that teachers are paying attention to them and recognizing their contributions to the class.

At CDS we have been exploring the effects of grading and recognition practices on middle school students. Responsive grading practices (e.g., progress grades or handwritten comments for each subject on the report card) may have a postitive effect on student motivation and achievement, especially for those low-achieving males who are at highest risk of being retained or dropping out before they finish high school. If low-achievers work harder and reach higher levels of performance in schools that use responsive grading, then responsive grading should lead to lower retention rates. If low achieving young adolescents feel more successful and attached to school when responsive grading practices are used, then fewer of them are likely to adopt "failure-prone" or "alienated" behavior patterns that eventually lead to dropping out (Carnegie Task Force, 1990; Eccles & Wigfiels, 1985).

Analyses based on the Hopkins national survey of 2400 principals in public schools that contain 7th-graders showed that the use of progress grades and the use of written comments are associated with lower retention rates and with lower dropout rates for boys. These reductions in retention rates and dropout rates are large enough to be educationally significant (Mac Iver 1990a).

A second CDS study of the effects of responsive grading practices on low-achieving 8th-graders based on data from the NELS:88 Base Year Survey and the Hopkins NELS:88 Enhancement Survey of Middle Grades Practices showed that -- in schools where teachers give students handwritten comments in each subject on their report cards -- educationally-disadvantaged students' actual levels of achievement are higher than the levels one would otherwise predict based on school characteristics and on students' socioeconomic status, past grades, locus of control, educational history, race, and sex (Mac Iver, 1990b). This finding suggests that the use of handwritten comments may be an effective way of encouraging achievement in those students who are most at risk of being left unrecognized and unrewarded by traditional report card practices. The positive effect of handwritten comments by teachers on educationally-disadvantaged students' math and reading achievement was significantly stronger for males than for females. The use of progress grades was not significantly associated with the achievement of educationally-disadvantaged students.

Overall, the results of both studies suggest that alterations in grading practices designed to increase the proportion of educationally-disadvantaged students who receive desireable levels of official and personal recognition on their report cards for their academic strengths and progress may reduce nonpromotions and dropout rates while increasing achievement. Given the fact that males are more likely than females to be unrecognized and unrewarded under traditional grading practices, alternative grading practices may particularly benefit boys.

(4) *Active Learning*: It is generally agreed that early adolescents' natural energies and need for social support and interaction require instructional programs that stress learning by doing, active applications of facts and skills, and interaction and work with other students. But many schools serving large numbers of African American students see "active learning" as a threat to order and discipline. The tendency is to provide highly structured, drill and practice, passive programs for these students in order to assure they master needed basic skills. This occurs even as other successful students are given many opportunities for active learning, project work, and working with peers. The need for active learning, then, is neglected -- often purposely rejected -- for the students who may most need these opportunities to to master basic and advanced skills and to become engaged in challenging and exciting school projects.

While there are many approaches to "active learning" I will briefly describe several "cooperative learning methods" which are designed to create more active and participatory learning roles for students and which also seek to alter the incentive systems of the classroom to motivate more students to exert effort on academic tasks. In cooperative learning methods, students work in small learning teams to master material initially presented by the teacher. When the teams are rewarded or recognized based on the individual learning of all team members, cooperative learning methods can be consistently effective in increasing student achievement in comparison to traditionally taught control groups. Examples of successful cooperative learning methods developed at our Center include Student Teams - Achievement Divisions (Slavin & Karweit, 1984), Cooperative Integrated Reading and Composition (Stevens, Madden, Slavin, & Farnish, 1987), and Team Assisted Individualization (Slavin, Madden, & Leavey, 1984; Slavin & Karweit, 1985). Cooperative learning methods have been found to positively affect the achievement of average and high achievers as well as low achievers (Slavin, 1988). In addition, cooperative learning has consistent positive effects on such variables as self-esteem and race relations (Slavin, 1983, 1985). Cooperative learning programs are also a part of Success for All, a comprehensive approach to restructuring urban elementary schools.

(5) *Teacher Expectations*: Teachers in elementary, middle, and high schools serving large numbers of African American and minority students sometimes hold limited expectations for the conduct and academic performance of some of their students. Such attitudes are problematic in the context of aspirations to improve instruction because such improvements are likely to require convincing and preparing teachers to use improved methods of coping with student heterogeneity in the classroom and to engage in more positive interpersonal interaction with students to increase student attachment to school. These attitudes are also problematic in the context of the research on effective schools that implies that a climate in which educators want all children to learn and believe that they can learn (Bloom, 1976; Edmonds, 1979) is most productive.

Research suggests that the TESA (Teacher Expectations of Student Achievement) intervention may improve student *achievement* (based on a comparison of gain scores for students in trained and untrained teachers' classes) and *discipline*, and it demonstrates that the teachers trained regard the training as useful. An expected additional effect of this training (which involves teachers in making peer observations) is that it will help generate norms of collegiality among the faculty in participating schools. This staff development intervention model involves sensitizing teachers to unconsciously displayed inequitable treatment of students, and it involves five monthly workshop and classroom observation cycles (TESA; Kerman, Kimball, & Martin, 1980).

Existing evidence about this program is based on (a) one faulty evaluation that did not examine whether the treatment was effective for subgroups of students at risk such as African American males and (b) impressive evidence of trainee and school system acceptance of the program. However CDS is undertaking a careful evaluation of TESA in Charleston, S.C. to determine whether the intervention helps at-risk students, including African American males (or has any beneficial effects at all).

(6) *Sports Participation*: The relationship between adolescent athletic involvement and academic achievement has been the topic of considerable debate among scholars and educators for many years. Critics of interscholastic sports claim that partcipation in athletics exerts a detrimental impact on scholarship because it diverts an excessive amount of both human and financial capital away from the primary academic objectives of the schools. Supporters, on the other hand, contend that athletic participation has a beneficial impact on academic achievement, the assumption being that extracurricular activities (including athletics) function like grades received in the academic curriculum by providing opportunities to acquire, develop, and rehearse attitudes and skills from which status goals evolve and upon which future success is grounded.

My earlier review of the empirical literature on the topic of racial differences noted that although race as a variable has seldom been examined in the existing research on athletic involvement and academic achievement, for black youth the view of sports participation as an impediment to educational attainment has become the dominant perspective in the literature. The sport-as-attainment-impediment hypothesis has, ironically, become the dominant theme for blacks even though reviewers have consistently noted a positive association between athletic participation and educational attainment. In an analysis of data from the National Longitudinal Survey of the High School Class of 1972 (NLS), we systemmatically examined the relationship between athletic participation and several diverse indicators of educational attainment -- including curriculum placement, grades, academic self-esteem, college plans and college attainments among African American and white male adolescents (Braddock, 1981). We found that, net of the influence of social class, academic aptitude, and high school curriculum placement, both African American and white males a positive association of athletic participation with high school grades earned, academic self-esteem educational plans, college enrollment, and college attainment. With the exception of educational plans, this relationship was somewhat (though not statistically) stronger for white males than black males.

One possible interpretation of the finding of a stronger positive relationship among white males, as compared to black males, between athletic participation and enrollment in a college preparatory curriculum, high school grades earned, academic self-esteem and college enrollment and persistence is suggested by considering the greater emphasis in the black community on sport participation as an avenue of social mobility. It may be the case that black youth view interscholastic sport participation primarily as a means of earning an athletic scholarship to college which might, in turn, facilitate their recruitment into a career in professional athletics. White youth, in contrast, may view their participation in interscholastic athletics largely as a means of earning a college athletic scholarship in order to obtain the educational credentials necessary to prepare themselves for careers in nonathletic professional fields. Such differences in career orientations might account for the somewhat larger effects of athletic participation on educational attainment among white males observed in this study.

Although the foregoing interpretation is speculative, there exists some limited indirect evidence for its support. Gottfredson (1978) analyzed Career and Occupational Development Assessment data from a national survey of 13- and 17-years-olds. She found that both the black and white 17-year-old boys show a significant decline in aspirations to become professional athletes in contrast to the 13-year-olds; however, this drop is much more dramatic for whites than for African Americans. It is generally assumed that the occupational aspirations of older youth become more realistic as they gain experience within the opportunity structure and begin to assess rationallytheir ability to succeed in a specific area. It has also been noted that black youth rate themselves as superior in athletic abilities more often than do whites (Braddock, 1978). Further, blacks are overrepresented in professional athletics but underrepresented in other traditional high-status and high-income professions outside sports. As a result, young black males may realistically view the sports arena as being more open and attainable for blacks than are other desirable fields of work. Consequnelty, a perception of competence at athletics might make it appear even more realistic for black youngsters to pursue an athletic career.

Correspondingly, thn, we might suggest that whatever generalizable, positive, academically related benefits of athletics might exist, may be less likely to be carried over into academic achievements among blacks (who may view athletics primarily in terms of long-term "career" benefits) than among whites (who may view athletic participation more in terms of short-term educational attainments). Again, however,we must caution the reader that such interpretations, though plausible, remain speculative. Furthermore, in several instances -- academic self-esteem, college enrollment and persistence -- the black-white differences are quite small, and the overall pattern of results is very similar for both groups. Thus, the most important finding here is not that there are differences between blacks and whites in educational benefits associated with athletic participation, but that such payoffs, contrary to popular opinion, accrue to black youth as well as white youth.

(7a) *Transitions to Work*: Studies show that schools play a limited role as a formal method of recruitment at the job candidate stage, since school placement services are infrequently used by employers to find candidates for most high school level jobs (McPartland & Dawkins, 1985).

Employers are not disposed to spend much time or money to recruit candidates for most high school level jobs. The inexpensive and most convenient methods dominate recruitment for high school level jobs, including use of public employment agencies, unsolicited walk-ins, and referrals from current employees. The more costly or time consuming methods -- media ads, private employment services, professional organizations and school placement services -- are generally used mainly for jobs at higher education levels. High school level jobs are recruited for by the use of school placement services only for positions such as office typist, where the high school program and recommendations can be very directly tied to the specific desired job talents (such as office and typing skills).

Apparently employers can get enough qualified candidates for most high school level jobs by doing nothing more than placing a job opening sign at their establishment and passing the word to their current work force about the opening. Employers who do more seem to need specific talents that are not widely held by most high school graduates, or to have easy access to pools of job candidates provided by inexpensive agencies such as community groups or public employment services.

For high schools to play a more frequent formal role at the job recruitment/job search stage, they must be especially convenient and provide inexpensive, reliable, useful information about candidates' skills on job relevant traits.

Employers would probably use education information more in their selection process if it were relevant to more of their high priority job qualities and if it were more convenient to obtain. For jobs usually filled by high school graduates, this means (a) information relevant to work habits as well as to basic academic skills, and (b) information that is very inexpensive in time or cost to obtain.

Several examples of students behavior during the high school years could help an employer rate an individual's dependability, work habits, and ability to work well in groups. These high school behaviors include regular on-time attendance at class over the high school career, membership and leadership positions in extra-curricular activities and teams, and noteworthy achievements in academic and non-academic pursuits. Currently such behaviors are not part of the school information that employers can routinely access and use in their recruitment and selection of new workers.

A recent cooperative experiment between schools and businesses in Boston and Baltimore and some other cities exemplifies how the high school could provide useful contacts and information for the recruitment, selection and hiring process. The plan in Baltimore "hopes to guarantee a job to any city high school graduate who has an 85 percent grade average and a 95 percent attendance record. Those who qualify will receive a jobs 'passport' under the plan, and will get special consideration for jobs at the 107 local companies that have committed themselves to the plan" (Baltimore Sun, November 4, 1985, D1). The school superintendent believes about 400 students would qualify this year and more in succeeding years. Since the Baltimore public schools may graduate over 7000 students in a typical year, the current plan will directly benefit a small fraction (about 5 percent) of graduates. But the idea has the merit of creating a formal record, in the students' possession (a "passport"), of behaviors including non-academic performances such as good attendance that can be used in seeking employment.

Better educational information may also be made more accessible for jobs that call for specialized knowledge that students gain in specific courses in high school or two-year colleges. Employers do not have the time or resources to use course information from schools or community colleges or other post-secondary preparatory programs. We need to find timely, reliable and inexpensive methods to enter more useful detailed information about an individual's educational experiences into the employment process for jobs at the level of high school or some college.

Because most jobs below the college degree level do not require strong language or math skills but do emphasize good work habits and knowledge relevant to the firm's business and operations, individuals without outstanding academic records who are good workers prove themselves on the job and advance through a job career within the organization. But this will often depend upon having entered the firm in a job that is linked to an upward career ladder.

We need a better understanding of how high schools can cut into the formal and informal channels most frequently used to actually create the pool of candidates considered for jobs. Can job banks or job placement services be located or expanded in high schools to meet the needs of students and the timing and efficiency needs of employers? Perhaps these services could serve employers as a preliminary screening mechanism by providing immediate information on "dependability indicators" for students, such as good attendance records or leadership roles in non-academic activities.

Job-relevant information from high schools may be made more accessible to employers, no matter what other placement services are at the school. One example of this is the plan now being developed in a few cities to give employers job "passport" information on students covering academic and non-academic behaviors. These plans have the benefit of prior employer commitments to provide job opportunities. Can these notions be applied to a broader range of students and employers?

Our understanding of the problems of the current role of high schools in the education to work transition is further along than our ideas about how to improve the situation in the future.

(7b) Transitions to College: A full understanding of African American male's flow through the educational pipeline requires a consideration of variations in both student's *credentials* (e.g., grades or tests) which qualify them for admission to college and *connections* (e.g., information, resources, and support) which differentially affect their opportunities for capitalizing on whatever credentials they might have earned. Student credentials are obviously key factors on the admissions process and, in part, because of their availability and ease of measurement they have become mainstays in the higher education research agenda on student access.

Regarding student "connections", I refer to (a) differences in students access to *information* about the diverse array of postsecondary options which may be available or awareness of special programs, scholarships, or other types of assistance; (b) differences in students knowledge of and access to *resources* necessary to apply to college (e.g., fees, references); and (c) differences in the quality and level of *support* available to students (e.g., parental familarity with college admissions/aid procedures, regular access to supportive and knowledgable school counselors and teachers).

"Connections" of this sort can exert as much influence on a student's ability to make the transition from one level of schooling to the next as can the "credentials" they earn. Unfortunately these connections to information, resources, and support tend to be inequitably distributed across student subgroups: African Americans, Hispanics, and American Indians are usually less well-connected. Preliminary analyses of student connections indicators among 1982 seniors in the High School & Beyond survey suggest that minority students, though more likely to rely on financial aid, have less knowledge about various sources of aid, are less likely to have taken college admissions tests, and are less likely to have applied to college. Consequently, many of these students who otherwise possess the objective "credentials" are unable to successfully negotiate the transitions across levels of schooling because they lack the proper "connections".

Although "connections" are much more difficult to operationalize and to measure accurately, I would argue that if our efforts to improve the participation of traditionally underrepresented race-ethnic groups in graduate education is to succeed, we must devote as much energy and attention to bridging the connections-gap as we do to closing the credentials-gap. As we address the "connections" issue we also must broaden our focus to include structural aspects of the vessel (pipeline) which serves as the conduit for the graduate education talent pool.

In so doing, we must address the following types of issues: What can be done about ability grouping and tracking practices in elementary-secondary schools that sort minority students into different educational trajectories early on in their school careers? What can be done to improve the guidance role of schools serving large numbers of underrepresented minorities whose counselors often have 400/1 student-ratios and whose students come from homes without a base of college experiences? What can be done to enhance the connection between high school requirements and students college aspirations?

This effort will require new, expanded, and collaborative roles for colleges and universities, federal and state government, the private sector, and foundations, as well as for public schools. In recognition of this need, the State Higher Education Executive Officers are drafting a plan for a "new state-federal partnership for minority achievement" with the goal of developing cooperative programs and new structures to improve the success of minorities at every point along the pipeline (e.g., Arizona Minority Education Access and Achievement Cooperative). And the Association of American Universities, while noting the existence of a few exemplary programs, also calls for greater collaboration between universities and federal agencies to increase the number of minority doctoral students supported as research assistants. They propose a new governmentwide initiative where each federal agency funding research should provide supplemental funding to faculty investigators who successfully recruit minority research assistants.

Implications and Future Directions

To insure progress toward this goal wiii require a broad-based research agenda that makes use of state-of-the-art research methodology and the latest technological developments to monotor, evaluate, and dissiminate the most current knowledge on effective practices to educators at all levels of schooling.

At present, we have a vast and growing catalog of successful programs for at-risk youth in the early grades (a number of which have been developed at our Center). But no comparable compendium of effective strstegies for students in the secondary grades (especially high schools) exists. Thus, there is a pressing need, for example, to learn more about (1) what types of programs are being implemented in the nearly 60% of American high schools who report that they receive Chapter I funding? and (2) which programs are most effective in improving student achievement?

We also need to know if there exist comprehensive high school restructuring models (comparable to Success for All, for example) which can produce high achievement among all students. While not many examples are currently available, the Coalition of Essential Schools model developed by Theodore Sizer has shown some promise in one African American neighborhood high school in Baltimore. But further evaluation of this and other models is clearly needed.

As we become an increasingly diverse society there is also a critical need to know more about various approaches to issues of multicultural education, which are most effective, and for what specific outcomes? We are now in the second generation of calls for multicultural education in our schools and yet we hace learned little about its impact on students.

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Chairman **Owens**. Thank you very much. I want to thank all the panelists. We can't cover it all today, but you have raised many questions. We have sort of used the word, "multicultural," interchangeably with "Afrocentric" in a couple of places, and I don't think that was necessarily meant. Let's find out what we do mean.

What is the present situation? Do most schools have Eurocentric curriculums? And the demand 20 years ago was that they add on to that something about African-American history—something beyond Negro history week, month—and now the demand is that they have a totally Afrocentric curriculum in schools where the predominant population is African-American, and forget about the Eurocentric? Or is the demand for a multicultural curriculum which really integrates Hispanic, African-American, Asian, all of it, into one? What are we talking about?

I am particularly interested in this because this is one item under the control of the officials, the educators, and the teachers. It is totally under official control. It's not like students come in the school hungry, or having broken homes, and a lot of other problems that have to be dealt with by other institutions. This is totally under the control of the educators and the school system.

Why is there so much debate and controversy at this late stage in our history? What's the problem? In an area where 65 percent of the students are African-American, why is there a problem in having at least a multicultural library, a multicultural curriculum? Why is it a problem?

Dr. Simmons.

Dr. **Simmons**. In Prince George's County there is a fear that including the cultural experiences of other groups will undermine the culture of the mainstream society. That fear——

Chairman **Owens**. Including the cultural experience of other groups will undermine the mainstream of——

Dr. **Simmons**. Undermine what is defined as the mainstream. And I guess, as Diane Ravitch and others define it, that is the European underpinnings of——

Chairman **Owens**. Is Diane Ravitch against the multicultural curriculum or an Afrocentric curriculum?

Dr. **Simmons**. She has argued against the effectiveness of multicultural education, as has Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.; most recently, as has Charles Krottheimer, a columnist for Time magazine, I believe.

Chairman **Owens**. They are arguing against multicultural?

Dr. **Simmons**. Right. But also there is a confusion between multicultural and Afrocentric. People do use the terms interchangeably and they are different phenomenon.

Chairman **Owens**. I wonder why all these smart people would get confused.

Dr. **Simmons**. I think because they are arguing viewpoints rather than research data. In the absence of data to support one position or the other, we can get into a longstanding argument, which is what we are engaged in, which is why I think many people are calling for research on the benefits of the multicultural curriculum, or an Afrocentric curriculum, on school systems with different kinds of school populations.

Chairman **Owens**. You mean data to determine the desirability of a multicultural education? We still need data?

Dr. **Simmons**. We need data to determine its impact on educational achievement. I think, intuitively, there is a strong belief that it will enhance self-esteem and motivation, but other people are arguing that its impact on actual academic achievement is at this point unproven although——

Chairman **Owens**. Multicultural education, then, is not a goal stated anywhere among educators? It is not an American education goal?

Dr. **Simmons**. Many people argue that this society is founded in the values and beliefs of western civilizations and European-American, and that's what people should be assimilated into. And to do any less, then, undermines the fabric of the society. That's the opposing——

Chairman **Owens**. Congress also spends a great deal of time discussing competitiveness in the global village and the need for students, businessmen, everybody, to have a better understanding of the whole world.

Dr. **Simmons**. And I think that's what is leading to an increasing acceptance of multicultural education. In Prince George's County, which is 50 percent black, 50 percent white, in terms of the residential population, white Americans, as well as African-Americans, are accepting multicultural education as long as it includes African-American, Hispanic, Asian-American, and the European perspective.

Now, in cases where people argue for replacing a Eurocentric curriculum with an Afrocentric curriculum, in those kinds of communities, that is viewed as a threat because it is replacing the dominance of one cultural perspective with the dominance of another.

We in Prince George's County, and other places like Portland, Oregon, and Pittsburgh, are arguing for multicultural education which simply represents the views of the diverse cultural groups that are in the society, and in the world for that matter.

Chairman **Owens**. The Kenneth and Mamie Clark studies, Dr. Banks, you said were misinterpreted? It seems you disagree fundamentally. Do I misunderstand? Kenneth and Mamie Clark studies about the identification of African-American children.

Dr. **Banks**. It depends on what we mean by "fundamentally." I don't disagree with the value of doing the study. I don't disagree with the entertainment of the hypothesis that it could be that black children will be influenced in the development of their personalities by racism in the society through the medium of their self concepts.

What I disagree with, is the way in which the data were interpreted. And I disagree with the way in which the data, in fact, were generated. It should be noted for the record, as it is in the recorded publication of the 1947 study in which they used dolls as a stimulus, that what they did was, they found that black children would not express preferences for white dolls unless they were asked that question before they were asked the question of whether they were more or like themselves, the white or the black doll.

Having found that——

Chairman OWENS. The study was flawed, you mean?

Dr. BANKS. The study was flawed in that the study was specifically designed in such a way as to elicit white preference from the black children, because it was found that only the particular order that the Clarks used was capable of eliciting that preference. Even so, the actual pattern of preference on the part of the children was at chance. It was nonpreferential.

The overall pattern of the children's choices was, that they preferred white and black at equal rates. They didn't really prefer one over the other. And even that could only be accomplished by using a particular order of the task, which was a violation of experimental design principles. That problem led to a misinterpretation of what the phenomenon was. It led to a notion that black youngsters prefer white characteristics, and that that preference leads to the development of a personality structure which has deficiencies and motivations, self-direction, confidence, and so on.

The evidence was misinterpreted—aside from the fact that it was misgenerated in terms of research design—and that misinterpretation was replicated in study after study after study for about 35 years.

Chairman OWENS. Suppose low self-esteem can be attributed to poverty, instead of color, is it an important factor that—low self-esteem is still an important factor regardless of whether they erred——

Dr. BANKS. Low self-esteem is an important factor wherever it occurs. We have to be clear about where it occurs. And whether it is the result of poverty, or whether it is the result of race, low self-esteem is very important if it impedes an individual's ability to be productive in the society.

It may very well be that poverty induces an individual to feel less positive about himself. It may very well be that other experiences will lead an individual to feel less positive about himself, but we need to be clear, and we are able to be clear through systematic scientific research whether or not low self-esteem is a dominant characteristic; and if it is a dominant characteristic, whether it is having an impact upon performance and productivity. The evidence, as it stands today in the scientific literature, says for black populations it is not the problem.

Chairman OWENS. If sports raises the self-esteem and the motivation of young males—males, white or black—why do school systems, and educators, and the population in general continue to insist that sports must be a reward for good academic performance? Why do you have to have a 2.0 grade in order to perform in sports? And this is addressed to all of you. Why has it not been challenged by educators?

Dr. GRADY. Mr. Chairman, it is a major point of contention among board members in Prince George's County. I believe it was passed about two years ago, and the board was split on the vote, and they remain split today. There is a group of us lobbying the board and school administration to reconsider that policy because of the empirical evidence that Dr. Braddock and others have noted. It remains under fire.

Chairman OWENS. You said there is empirical data that supports it?

Dr. **Grady**. The data that Dr. Braddock referred to in his testimony.

Chairman **Owens**. Supporting what?

Dr. **Grady**. Sports——

Chairman **Owens**. Sports participation is a plus.

Dr. **Grady**. Right.

Chairman **Owens**. So, why do we deny sports participation to youngsters who don't have any other pluses? They can't perform well academically, but they might perform well on the field. In extracurricular activities, some can't perform well academically, but they can perform well on the stage, in drama, in music, in singing, in dancing. I thought extracurricular activities ought to shut down too. If you don't have a certain grade you are not eligible to participate in those; right?

Why do you educators do this? Do we need some research into it, or is there some backup? You've got data and research to support that this is a good thing for education?

Dr. **Braddock**. A couple of comments: One, the restrictions on extracurricular participation, widespread restrictions, came about during the time of the reform movement that emphasized higher standards, tighten standards in our schools. The whole idea of no-pass, no-play, has to do with——

Chairman **Owens**. They existed before. They were only tightened up —and Texas, I think, is a great example. They were tightened up in the past few years under the reform heading, but they existed before.

Dr. **Braddock**. But the tightening restricted——

Chairman **Owens**. No restrictions at all? Go ahead. I stand corrected.

Dr. **Braddock**. And in many instances the tightening restricted the opportunities for large numbers of students to participate. In many districts the number of ineligible extracurricular participants are the majority of students.

Chairman **Owens**. I just heard that Prince George's County, obviously, has the majority of its male students who are ineligible to participate in sports. That's a disaster.

Dr. **Braddock**. Or any other extracurricular activity, despite the salutory benefits that research shows about involvement.

Chairman **Owens**. There is nothing in John Dewey or any other great educational philosopher to back this up.

Dr. **Braddock**. Well, there are conventional stereotypes and conventional wisdom in regard to sports in particular——

Chairman **Owens**. That's all we have; right?

Dr. **Braddock**. [continuing] that portray an image of the dumb jock. When the news covers athletic scandals, particularly in higher education, they focus on kids who are in college and unable to perform at college levels——

Chairman **Owens**. I am aware of the lay deception——

Dr. **Braddock**. But the data on the performance of participants in interscholastic and intercollegiate athletics shows that relative to students of equal background, they perform as well or better at both levels. So, the conventional wisdom applies counter to the solid evidence that exists, and has existed over time.

Mr. **Bartlett**. Would the gentleman yield?

Chairman OWENS. I'm going to yield to you right now, Mr. Bartlett, because I think I have taken long enough. I do want the panel members to let me have any information about this business of high schools. There are no studies. Very little is being done to probe the problems of high school. All of our research has been centered on elementary and junior high, I guess. And I would like more information about that, if you could provide it. But I think I have talked long enough. I yield to Mr. Bartlett.

Mr. BARTLETT. I thank the Chairman for yielding. I hadn't planned to ask about sports, but I do have a follow-up question on that.

Do any of you know of any quantitative studies or compilation of quantitative data that indicates numbers of students who have met higher academic achievement as a result of the no-pass, no-play concepts? I had assumed that those—I haven't seen a compilation, but I have seen larger numbers of students passing and achieving passing grades. No-pass, no-play is a—I haven't seen an exact comparison, but anecdotally it seems to have an impact.

Do you think it doesn't have an impact, or do you believe there is no data to support it?

Dr. BRADDOCK. I haven't seen data to support it. That would involve a comparison of potentially eligible students and eligible students in terms of their performance before and after the implementation of the no-pass, no-play regulation. If you get higher performance only among the eligibles, it doesn't take into account what might have happened had the ineligibles been allowed to participate. And I haven't seen studies addressing that. They may exist but I haven't seen them.

Mr. BARTLETT. I haven't seen a study. I do recall that at least in Texas—and in Texas we had no academic requirements in order to participate in extracurricular activities, and not just sports. And it is triggered at the end of the first six weeks. So it is every six weeks there is a new period to be eligible or not eligible.

At least in the Texas experiences, there are significantly higher numbers of students who are passing all of their courses at the end of each six weeks, who are participating in sports, than who had never passed those courses during the first year it was implemented. And indeed the second year. But I wonder if anyone had seen any studies or data or correlate that.

Dr. SIMMONS. In our local school system in Prince George's County, when the policy was implemented, it led in its first year of operation to a slight decline in the number of students who were ineligible. We are now in our second, third year of implementation—second full year of implementation. But the percentages of students who have been ineligible have gone back up, and so——

Mr. BARTLETT. Percentage of students who are ineligible?

Dr. SIMMONS. Ineligible, has risen once again. And when you are dealing with such large numbers in a school—some high schools approach 42, 52, 55 percent of the students ineligible. At that rate, ineligibility excludes you not only from the academic program, but from sports, debate, drama clubs, and becomes a norm that is reinforced. And we are now afraid that we are in a situation where we are leading to alienation and isolation rather than encouraging students to get involved in school.

Mr. **Bartlett**. I would concur with that. If you have a 40 to 50 percent ineligible rate, then you clearly have a problem with that becoming a norm. Intuitively one would suggest that the problem is on the other end; it is on the academic end, but that's a very high rate of failure, a 50 percent failure rate. Failure, I know, is not a precise word, but at least you are telling those students that they failed by declaring them ineligible.

I want to move back to the Eurocentric versus multicultural model. Dr. Simmons, what I think I heard you say—and I just want to make sure that I understood it right—is that you are counselling against a Eurocentric model of curriculum, but you are counselling for a multicultural model. Did I sufficiently oversimplify that that you need to defend yourself, or is that——

Dr. **Simmons**. I think you clarified my statements perfectly.

Mr. **Bartlett**. I wanted to make sure what I was hearing. There is a good deal of controversy, and there are some who propose a Eurocentric model purely as opposed to multicultural, I suppose. In a multicultural model, how would you then treat the western civilization and the classics of western civilization from Plato to Churchill? How would you treat that as the dominant strand of the west? Would you put that in the curriculum as the dominant thinking of American culture, and then have other cultural education?

Dr. **Simmons**. You would put it in the way you just put it. It is the dominant strand of the west, but there are dominant strands of other civilizations in other societies that have influenced what those cultural groups are doing today, and the impact that they are having on western societies today. So the western civilization would be one part of a continuum of world civilization that one would explore in school.

Dr. **Braddock**. May I interject? Just to supplement your answer: One of the things you would do is, you would begin by acknowledging, for example, that the roots of western civilization in the work of people like Plato, actually needs to be broad in its understanding to realize that the classical revival that placed Greek and Roman work at the beginning of the renaissance in Europe, actually amounted to translations from Arabic.

Those translations raise questions about the extent to which so-called western culture actually has its roots in the work of Greeks anymore than it has its roots in the work of Africans from which the scripts that were translated for the classical revival actually were written.

Mr. **Bartlett**. So the goal would be to broaden the educational curriculum as opposed to narrowing it.

Dr. Simmons, you also had a comment, and I want to make sure I understand it. You suggested that—well, I am not sure you suggested this, but you referred to the idea of structuring the cultural curriculum or the Eurocentric curriculum, structuring that based on the racial characteristics of the student population. I want to make sure that you are not saying that you would endorse Afrocentric bias in schools with large numbers of African-American students.

It seems to me that multicultural education should be multicultural for all ethnic backgrounds and not just monocultural to that particular culture.

Dr. SIMMONS. Let me amplify what I meant by that: In looking at how one should go about multiculturalizing the curriculum, it is difficult to start everywhere at the same time. One has to take a look at the local population and, therefore, I think one has to go about focusing on multicultural issues that are important to the largest and most underrepresented group that you have locally, initially, and then broadening out to other groups.

That is, in Prince George's County, we are 65 percent African-American students in the school system, and there are many groups that are underrepresented in our school system. We don't think the community would allow us, however, to begin by infusing the curriculum with information about Asian-Americans since they represent one percent of our school system.

We need to begin with information about African-Americans and females, and then extend our efforts to include Asian-Americans and Hispanic-Americans. We can't do it all at one time. We don't have the resources to do it all at one time. So, in looking in our community, and in hearing our community's concerns, we have to set some priorities.

We think we will be engaged in this process for evermore as educators as different groups come and go, and share their concerns about whether they are represented in our community or not. We begin in Prince George's County with infusing the curriculum with information about African-Americans and females, and then extending to Hispanic and Asian Americans as we get more knowledge, more expertise, and more resources.

Mr. BARTLETT. So, what you are suggesting is, just where you begin——

Dr. SIMMONS. Right.

Mr. BARTLETT. [continuing] as opposed to where you end up.

Dr. BRADDOCK. I would like to add, in regard to the Afrocentric curriculum, that's also the premise in many instances. For example, in Baltimore, there is a strong grass roots movement for an Afrocentric curriculum, but not Afrocentric in the sense of replacing Eurocentric with Afrocentric, but including and infusing the contributions, the role of our African-Americans, into what is now a dominantly Eurocentric curriculum.

Again, it's like Prince George's County, to an even greater extent. The African-American students make up 88 percent of the Baltimore city school population, and the assumption is that would be the base for starting the expansion towards a more comprehensive multicultural curriculum which, ironically, the district claims to have, but there is this recognition of a need for creating more balance.

So, even in instances where Afrocentric is used, that's often a misnomer for what is actually being called for. It's not exclusionary, but inclusionary in the ways that Dr. Simmons described.

Mr. BARTLETT. So, there is some considerable benefit for white students to learn African history also?

Dr. BRADDOCK. Exactly.

I would like to add one additional point on the multicultural issue: For it to be effective, it is not just rewriting the curriculum and getting appropriate text materials, but it is also an issue of staff development. For these issues to be covered appropriately, there will be a need for massive investments in staff training, of new teachers going through teacher training programs now, and retraining of the existing teaching force to effectively implement a multicultural curriculum in order that it might have an impact on student self-esteem and——

Mr. **Bartlett**. Give the subcommittee a sense of what school district in America, public or private, has implemented the best multicultural curriculum. What's the best curriculum out there?

Dr. **Braddock**. The one that gets the most attention, currently, is being developed—it's not complete—in Portland, Oregon. It is held up as an example of a promising direction.

On the other hand, Omaha, Nebraska, which I have not looked at personally, but I understand from informed sources, does have in place a comprehensive model of multicultural across the curriculum.

Those would be the two most well developed examples, probably, at this point.

Mr. **Bartlett**. Portland, Oregon and Omaha, Nebraska.

Dr. **Braddock**. Yes.

Mr. **Bartlett**. Mr. Chairman, I might suggest it might be helpful for this subcommittee to get a kind of summary of that curriculum just for our records. I know I would like to review it.

I have two shorter questions, and I apologize, Mr. Chairman. One is the issue of special education classes being substantially overrepresented by African-American males.

Give us some help with that. What are the root causes of that statistical aberration, and what is the solution? We have built Public Law 94-142 on a model of students and parents being able to ask for an individual education curriculum, plan. There is a great deal of self-selection, frankly, involved in Public Law 94-142. Not particularly a method that we are especially happy with. But, if you were in our shoes, where would you explore the root causes of that statistical aberration and its solution?

Chairman **Owens**. Will the gentleman yield?

Mr. **Bartlett**. Yes.

Chairman **Owens**. The other questions I forgot to ask: They represent problems, ninety-five percent of which are under the control of professionals over which we have jurisdiction: the school system, the educators, the psychologists, the social workers. Why does it go on? Everybody everywhere agrees that—for instance, the category, "severely emotionally disturbed" is loaded with young black males across the country. Why does it continue to go on? How can we intervene to make our professionals do what ought to be doable, and that is to on a more scientifically objective basis make these determinations and do a better job?

Mr. **Bartlett**. Well, the Chairman is correct, but I will add to that, that it is only half the story, and that's the correct half. But the other half is, it is very much under the control of the U.S. Congress. We write the Education of the Handicapped Act, and we then watch or oversee the Department of Education implement its regulations to enforce it, and we make choices. We are passing out of the Conference Committee an Education of the Handicapped Act reextension today, in fact.

The spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak on this subcommittee. We understand the problem, but we are not sure we understand what to do about the phenomenon. We can change Federal law if we knew what the change would look like. Any suggestions?

Dr. Simmons. Actually, this is a problem that relates to——

Mr. Bartlett. Let me rephrase that. We may not be able to change Federal law, but at least theoretically we can change Federal law. But we could try.

Dr. Simmons. It's a problem that is related to multicultural education, and also to instructional strategies. Students who get referred for special education are students who don't conform to the way classrooms are currently organized. That is, we have an instructional model that is whole group teacher-led instruction, requires students to sit for long periods of time and to listen to teacher-led instruction. That's a dominant instructional methodology used.

That places a burden on students who may have difficulty learning in that particular kind of way or inexperience. And so, what you often find is that males are referred by mainstream classroom teachers for special education, because, perhaps, males have more difficulty than females sitting for longer periods of time. We don't know.

Essentially it begins in the mainstream classroom. It begins with the teacher's assessment of a student not being prepared or able to accept instruction. That student is then referred to, as is often the case, a guidance counsellor or a school psychologist who then gives an assessment instrument.

In the instances where students are from different cultures—either externally, that is from other countries, or internally, from subculture groups within this country—many of the assessment devices used are not culturally sensitive devices; not culturally sensitive to different kinds of languages, to different cultural norms for interacting with adults, and so those students who come from different cultures, are more likely to be mislabeled by very narrow assessment devices.

Once placed in a special education program and officially labeled as special education, it is very difficult to get out, just as it is difficult to get out from low ability tracks into moderate ability tracks into high ability tracks.

And, so, there is an effort to focus on the mainstream classroom, to give teachers a more diverse set of instructional strategies to use so they don't tend to refer students who come in with differences—that may interrupt instruction—out of the classroom into special education or, for that matter, compensatory education.

So, I think it comes back to multicultural education, it comes back to broadening the kinds of instructional strategies teachers have available to them to use in teaching students from different backgrounds and different experiences effectively. I think that once that is done, you will begin to see a lowering of inappropriate referrals to special education.

Dr. Braddock. I would like to amplify that part about the importance of instructional strategies. The success for our project that I mentioned, that's been developed in our Center, had as one of its goals, in addition to improving student achievement overall, reducing referrals to special education. In the first year of its implementation, in a school that had a 25 percent first grade special referral rate, in the first year of success, there were only two students at the end of the year who were referred for special education.

The components of successful referral, instructional components, that address that, create a different kind of classroom environment that allow and encourage more active participation of students in the learning process. Both the pre-kindergarten and kindergarten early reading readiness project involve story telling and retelling, and in the cooperative learning components of the early elementary beginner reading program.

The active predispositions of males are incorporated into a traditional classroom structure under this kind of model. So, instructional strategies that are more active in nature can help address the problem of disproportionate male referrals for special education.

I think another side of that——

Mr. **Bartlett**. Has that model been disseminated by the Office of Education and Research, or the Department of Education, or is it just one model that's out there isolated?

Dr. **Braddock**. That's one model that's being developed in seven sites currently and expanded, but hasn't yet gotten into the National diffusing network. It will in the very near future, we expect.

The other aspect has to do with teacher expectations with regard to student achievement. There is a body of research that shows, in the early elementary grades, predominantly female teachers' expectations with regard to conduct and conformity and norms of behavior, often run counter to the tendencies of young males.

There are strategies designed to make teachers conscious of biases in their expectations in the classroom, such as the teacher expectation of student achievement intervention test, it is called, that has been developed over the last several years. We are currently evaluating that model in Charleston, South Carolina, now, in a carefully devised experiment. That's an additional way to address the issue of disproportionate referrals by counteracting negative stereotypes and predispositions among teachers with regard to behavioral norms among young males, particularly African-American males.

Mr. **Bartlett**. Thank you very much. Fascinating testimony. We very much appreciate all of you sharing your knowledge base with us. My time has expired. Thank you.

Chairman **Owens**. Mr. Payne.

Mr. **Payne**. Thank you very much. Let me just say, Mr. Chairman, let me congratulate you for calling this very important meeting and for identifying so many outstanding educators to testify here today.

I was listening to your mentioning that Omaha, Nebraska and Portland, Oregon, were two examples of this multicultural situation. Of course, being from Newark, New Jersey, and you mentioning Baltimore, and the gentleman here from Washington or Brooklyn, when I think of Omaha, Nebraska and Portland, Oregon—very fine places, I am sure—and no offense to their representatives in Congress from those states, et cetera, but, now, let's talk about the real world.

Are there any other places that have tried this multicultural approach? And, secondly, have you heard anything about the California state project of textbooks where, I think, 27 different cultural groups tried to be integrated but there had been some opposition from larger ethnic groups or Afrocentrics, saying it was just too multicultured? Have you heard about that project?

Dr. **Braddock**. First, in regard to Omaha and Portland, I understand the concern in terms of both the diversity issue in Portland and the relatively small numbers of African-Americans in those populations. However, I think what is being tried in Portland and in Omaha could provide examples that could be learned from, and modified, and adapted to fit other situations. These can be viewed as prototypes that might have some applicability, with modification, for the typical urban context in Baltimore or Washington or Newark.

For example, the Portland model has been greatly influenced by the work of Professor Asa Hilliard and is also being piloted in several sites in Atlanta where he is based. And Atlanta has populations similar to the ones that we are talking about.

The California textbook initiative is new. Obviously, at this point there is no evidence of its impact on students, or on how it will be accepted, or how effectively it will be implemented by teachers in the classroom. Again, I think unless California addresses the issue of teacher training, the development of its textbooks, in themselves, will not have the desired effect. That's only half of the problem. The teacher training and the effective pedology is the other half, and I think that's critical.

Mr. **Payne**. I agree. The 54th Supreme Court decision was based on many things: overturning the old 96, Plessy versus Ferguson, but Brown versus the Topeka Board of Education had, as a part of it, that it is just wrong to have segregated schools; one reason, because there is a feeling of inferiority by those minorities that are segregated. But, conversely, on the other hand, that there was also a false feeling of superiority on the part of the broader population.

So, I do agree that even in a place like Omaha and Portland, there needs to be the multicultural, because it is as important for the European population to understand achievements, et cetera, to deal with the overall picture.

I just had a question to Dr. Curtis. I think you mentioned four points: negative self-concept, powerlessness, lack of intrinsic motivation, and delay in gratification which you say was not necessarily correct; and you questioned some of these things.

But then you got into a discussion regarding race and poverty as feelings of inferiority. Did you indicate that you were not sure whether poverty and, therefore, a negative self-image or negative image of the environment, the physical environment, and all that surrounds a person living in abject poverty; or race—What was your position? Did you indicate you weren't sure that these were necessarily negative impacts on the person's ability to achieve? Could you clarify that for me?

Dr. **Banks**. Yes. It's not clear whether those forces actually affect the self-esteem of an individual. And it's not clear whether, in turn, that self-esteem is the primary factor in educational or occupational success.

I think we can be pretty clear, though, that those conditions of poverty do affect educational success and occupational success, but not necessarily by way of self-concept.

I give you an example: When I was on the Board of Education in Trenton, New Jersey, the city decided to consider the possibility of establishing an incinerator for the destruction of the county waste, and placing that incinerator in the most densely populated part of the county, within the city limits of Trenton, in the community of impoverished black citizens. In fact, within half a mile of the only city-supported day care center for impoverished children.

One of the things that the Board of Education stepped out of its place and said to the city—even though it had no business speaking about it—was that when you engage in an act like this, that makes a direct statement to the children of the community of the importance that the county and the city place upon their safety and upon their physical environment. Then you need not appeal to ideas about their self-concepts to explain why they don't succeed. They have a direct physical impact of policies and decisions that are being made upon their environments, upon whether or not they can get to school safely, upon whether or not they feel comfortable in the communities where they live.

In the same sense, poverty affects performance and poverty affects individuals because poverty is bad. It's not a question, necessarily, that poverty is so bad because it affects how people feel. Poverty affects how people live. Poverty affects how people eat. Poverty affects whether people have the things they need to go to school.

It has been an error of social science to presume that so much of the impact of the social structural factors is by way of the psychology of the individual, because that led us to then place the blame for failure upon those individuals who are psychologically affected, rather than upon those social structural features that were being decided upon and enacted by individuals who were imposing those conditions of poverty and safety on the children and the populations directly.

Mr. PAYNE. Just to take it one step further, because I think it is very important, and I agree; the incinerator in Trenton. They also had one plan for Newark. Any place where there is poverty, that's where you bring your trash, or build your prison, or whatever.

I am not arguing the point of who creates the poverty. I just have difficulty, but I haven't done any kind of study, that the victim—that the poverty around the person makes the person feel—regardless of who creates it. We know they don't create the poverty. I just can't see how a person can feel like a first class American living in a lot of abject poverty around them, regardless of who creates it.

It's just like when I go to church, they used to say, you have to be born again, you remember, to be a Christian. If you went to a Baptist—I don't know now for the Baptists. The AMEs, and all that, that's different. But we used to have that old time religion where they say you had to be born again, you had to be saved, you had to be a different thinking kind of person. You had to cast away all of those sinful ways and think positive, and think good, and all of that. And I was born again, and I became saved, and all that. And I thought differently.

The same kind of thing: If a person is just surrounded by all these negative things, it just seems to me that they are learning—not to use it as an excuse—but it just seems it would have a strong, very overriding negative impact if everything around you is negative.

Let me just conclude, without trying to put words in your mouth, but just so I can get a sense of what you are saying: You don't think that that necessarily is not proven to you that this is as devastating, maybe, as I think it is?

Dr. **Banks**. It is, and it's not. The reason why I say that, is this: What we find from the actual evidence, is that black children have a remarkable ability to rebound from the effects of these kinds of conditions.

What they tend to do—and not just children, but young adults as well, and we find this when we create artificial experimental situations where we can actually control what is going on and specifically measure how they respond to these kinds of situations—what we find is that, what black individuals do, is, they compensate for the effects of the surrounding conditions upon their self-esteem. And where they anticipate being in circumstances that would affect their self-esteem in a negative way, what we find they do, is, they then raise their level of self-esteem to compensate for the effect of being in that environment. Now, that's good and that's bad.

It's good that we find that kind of adaptive capacity on the part of black individuals that keeps them from being so detrimentally affected by the environment that they are in. But it's bad in that it says that there could be a so much higher level of esteem, a so much higher level of self-worth, perhaps, in the absence of those conditions.

So, the answer is that, in fact—I think it would be absurd for us to consider that the conditions of poverty have no effect upon self-esteem. They must have an effect upon self-esteem. Self-esteem probably would be much greater, it would be more positive, if it were not for those conditions. But, for us to conclude that therefore self-esteem is depressed below a level of functional capacity, by those conditions, is empirically incorrect because the data show us that what black children do, is, they compensate for that.

They have a remarkable resilience and resistance to those conditions that maintains their level of self-esteem that actually shows them having self-perceived academic ability that is equal to or greater than their white counterparts, even under those conditions.

Mr. **Payne**. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much.

Chairman **Owens**. I want to thank the members of the panel again. You mentioned some additional documents you had. We would like to have the clerk collect those at this point, and we would like to submit additional written questions to you to bring out some additional points. And, if there are any other items that you think would be important for us in our pursuit, we would appreciate your submitting them within the next 10 days to us. Thank you again.

Mr. **Payne**. Mr. Chairman, if the California experience—the textbook situation that is going on—if that could be included with these other two studies.

Mr. **Chairman**. Yes. We, ourselves, will have staff pursue some of these that have been mentioned here. I think Mr. Bartlett wanted some more information about some things too. We will have staff pursue those.

Thank you again.

We do appreciate the fact that you have made such a great effort, all of our panelists. We have a problem with one of them. Having travelled here, she has a problem catching a plane now. We don't want her to miss giving her testimony.

Dr. Norma J. Ewing, Chairperson, Special Education Department, Southern Illinois University, we would like to take your testimony. We won't question you. We will submit written questions to you later.

And then after Dr. Ewing testifies, we will ask all of the remaining people to give testimony, Panel II and Panel III to come forward at the same time in order to expedite the questioning process.

Dr. Ewing.

STATEMENT OF DR. NORMA EWING, CHAIRPERSON, SPECIAL EDUCATION DEPARTMENT, SOUTHERN ILLINOIS UNIVERSITY

Dr. **Ewing**. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am very pleased to have the opportunity to say some of what I had planned to say while I was here. I am afraid I had anticipated being out of here by 12 o'clock, because my flight leaves at ten minutes until one for New Orleans. So, what I want to do, though, if you would allow me to make a couple of comments about something relative to special ed, and why so many blacks are in special ed, I would like very much to do that.

I have spent approximately the last 15 years in special ed, first as a teacher in the classroom, and made direct observations of what seems to be in there, as well as chairperson of the Department of Special Ed that has training programs for the emotionally disturbed.

This is an area that I think there is no one answer to at this particular point, but I think there are some things that we can consider that will let us know that this is a very complex issue. It is not an issue that can be addressed with one single element as the reason.

We have to recognize that there is a referral system in place for special education, number one, which is a major element as far as special ed is concerned. There is another component, that is the assessment instrument, those tools that are used to classify students who go into those particular classes.

So you take the assessment instruments, you take the referral system, and then you look at that on top of who is primarily in the systems doing the referral. So you have persons who are doing the referrals, who are primarily not African-Americans, and they are looking at making referrals for students who are, in many instances, in my estimation, certainly not behavior disordered or emotionally disturbed, but students who might be, if categorized any kind of way, conduct disorders—those who are exhibiting conducts that are different than those who are making the referral would expect them to make—to exhibit, shall I say.

Now, because those behaviors are different than one would expect them to be, according to their value systems, they then in turn refer them for special ed assessment purposes.

Now, one very critical point, is that when we look at all of these pieces, 75 percent or more of those who are referred for special ed, actually end up in special ed. So we have those persons referring kids for behavior disorders, 75 percent of them, approximately, who will be then placed in those programs. Once they get in these programs, they rarely escape.

So, this is a problem of tremendous magnitude that is much more complex than I think we would probably have time to consider here today. It is a problem, and a part of it has to do with those who are making the referrals. Once they are referred, an overwhelming amount of them, then, are placed. And I maintain they are not behavior disordered. It is those who are looking at them, are looking at them with their expectations placed on their heads.

Now, if you look at multicultural education, I think that it possibly can have some impact if we can get that into the colleges of education to such an extent that it is actually being presented as an authentic way of dealing with a very sick situation.

I come from a university that is primarily Anglo. We talk a lot about multicultural at that particular university and the College of Education, but mind you, there are very little true multicultural education elements going on there. Nobody knows how to present it. I mean, if they are not people of color, or minority groups who can assist in helping persons understand that you must, for example, have some immersion in order to understand what it is you are talking about.

Many persons are really intimidated to even try and present multicultural information because they don't know what they are talking about. So, it is a complex issue.

Thanks for allowing me to make some comments on that. I have an awful lot to say on that issue, but——

The title of my testimony today was one in which I was going to deal with a call for a systematic approach to aiding African-American males. By and large, a lot of comments that have been made here are in my testimony, that you will find is related. When we start to talk about models for replication, or programs that have succeeded, there is very little that you can find in the literature or in reports on that. I did a very thorough computer search, known as the ERIC search, and you find very, very little on models.

When you talk about the Portland program, or the one in Nebraska, when you go into the literature and try and find those, you cannot find them. So, it is no doubt in my mind that there are some things that are being done out there, but there is no repository or information depot for this information to be placed so that persons then know directly where they can go and get it.

Basically, what we have now are persons in colleges, and universities, and the social service agencies who are primarily stymied or confused in terms of knowing what exists, or really where to go to find that information. It is so thoroughly diffused. So, I call very strongly for an institute, such as the one we are talking about here, so that we can then begin to have some collection of information so persons can indeed begin to get a grasp on what seems to be working and what does not seem to be working.

Now, when we start to talk about models for replication, implementing, and disseminating, a point that I would like to make is that, certainly serious consideration must be given to establishing indicators of success or effectiveness before an attempt is made to implement, replicate, or disseminate nationally.

I believe up front that one should consider establishing criteria for judging success. And in order to do that, perhaps a national task force should be set forth. Why would you want to implement, disseminate, or replicate something and you really don't know whether it works or not? But what are going to be the variables that you will use, then, to determine whether it is successful or effective?

I do believe there would be those authorities or persons with enough information around the Nation who could come together as a task force and begin to look at some indices for determining what is successful, what is effective, before we begin to talk about replicating and disseminating. You can replicate and disseminate something that would cost many dollars but would yield little of worth.

There are, certainly, many other comments that you can find in my testimony, and I would like to leave that for the record.

I might indicate my secretary gave birth to a baby, and I typed this myself, so you will see a few typing errors, but the content is still very legitimate.

I thank you for having these few minutes that I did. It's a topic that you are discussing here today that I think is very complex, and we must continue, then, to not stick our heads in the sand, but to deal with this issue head on. Thank you very much.

Chairman OWENS. Thank you. Thank you for coming. Your entire written testimony will be entered into the record.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Norma Ewing follows:]

Testimony for Hearing on
The Endangered African-American Male

by

Norma J. Ewing
Southern Illinois University-Carbondale
Carbondale, Illinois

for
Committee on Education and Labor
Subcommittee on Select Education

September 27, 1990
9:30 a.m.

Rayburn House Office Building
Room 2175
Washington, D.C. 20515

A CALL FOR A SYSTEMATIC APPROACH TO AIDING IN THE PLIGHT OF THE AFRICAN-AMERICAN MALE

I am pleased to address this Committee on this most important issue that face us all today. Without question, we all recognize there are documented, indisputable, significant indicators of the perils African-American males are encountering in our society today. We also recognize the impact the problem is having on our nation. These indicators (e.g. numbers in prison, numbers in special education, numbers suspended from school, numbers dropping out of school, decreasing number attending colleges and universities, and decreasing number graduating, etc.) provide the basis for accelerating alarm. Though some may want to think they are immune from the effects of major problems created by the current state of affairs surrounding a significant number of our male population, no one is unaffected . Consequently, we must all begin to have visions and dreams infused with renewed hope that an "armed" force will emerge with an appropriate action-oriented agenda that embodies a capacity for outreach, inclusiveness, knowledge, skills, and cultural sensitivity sufficient to engage in strategic planning and action sufficient to overcome the loosing battle we're currently engaged in today.

All Americans must shoulder responsibilities for strengthening the fabric of our overall society. It is urgent that a concerned constituency conceptualize and perhaps internalize the current jeopardy of the African-American male as one of a series of multiple national "small battles" that must be

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won if we are to win the "war" on poverty, crime, drugs, and various other plaques before we can win the "battle".

For too long the referent group has been miseducated by the educational system, mishandled by the criminal justice system, mislabeled by the mental health system, and mistreated by the social welfare system (Gibbs, 1988). This group of humans is increasingly subjected to the belated scrutiny of social scientists, educators, policy makers, and mass media. We are now at a renewed point in which there are those who dare to relinquish hope and envision systematic intervening change that will have positive impact on a group of psychologically, economically, and sociologically battered humans. The plight of this group is so overwhelming at this point. It is easy for some, but not others, to "stick their head in the sand" and pretend it doesn't exist. It will eventually affect the indifferent, as the problem is of such enormous magnitude that it should be disquieting to the young and the old, the rich and the famous, the educated and the uneducated, etc. We truly have a bold, endemic, national crisis that needs directed, immediate attention. The current deteriorating status of the African-American male is shocking and demands action as the trend points clearly to what is now commonly referred to as an "endangered species".

Certainly a nation that strives to project an image worldwide as a strong proponent of human rights, which includes preservation of human lives, we can ill-afford to ignore the harm and loss occurring within a sub-set of our society. When either animals in the wild or fish in the sea are perceived as endangered, quick, systematic action is pursued with an undying commitment of effort and national resources, as well as overwhelming public support sufficient, to reverse the trend. As such is obviously the case, in America there is no reason we should not dream dreams, maintain hope, and develop strategy to preserve a segment of humans in our society.

An institutionalized, national, systematic approach that supports authentic, practical, legitimate, research, focused on minorities is warranted. A thorough ERIC search revealed an extremely limited amount of information available to those who either demand or desire a new kind of academic empowerment to engage in substantative change strategies that will have positive impact instead of continuing to perpetuate myths and stereotypes that denigrate the African-American male. There is limited access to information to guide or develop strategy that will impact on "preservation of the species". A national "clearinghouse", such as an Institute for the Education of At-Risk Students, is needed to focus national efforts and support, as well as collect and disseminate information in an area that has the masses either stymied or confused in terms of knowing what exist, where to go to access a repository of information, access strategies, models, or innovative practices that exist. The notion of a clearinghouse as a meaningful approach to bridging an information gap is not new. There are several (e.g. National Center for Statistics; National Clearinghouse for Professions in Special Education; National Clearinghouse for Professions, etc.)

important in the selection of programs for implementation, replication, and dissemination where minority targeted consumers are expected to benefit.

Models for Replication and Innovative Practices

A comprehensive computer literature search (ERIC) revealed limited information on model programs or efforts for replication. There is a definite void in terms of information available to colleges, universities, schools, social service agencies, etc. regarding efforts and impact of attempts to support or enhance the status of African-American males in schools and society. There is absolute minimal amount of information circulating regarding models that have succeeded in improving academic achievement, graduation rate, retention rate, etc., of African-American males. Those referenced in the literature are usually mentioned in a brief manner without substantative description. For example, Kunjufu (1990) briefly mentions keeping at-risk males in the heterogeneous classroom, as opposed to separate classrooms or schools, with more African-American male teacher, higher teacher expectations, more holistic lesson plans, a more relevant curriculum such as the SETCLAE program (Self-Esteem Through Culture Leads to Academic Excellence). Little more is known about the program efforts but it indeed appears quite interesting and certainly worth investigating in terms of interesting how it works and what seems to be the impact. Certainly a repository or clearinghouse would be a place to contact if one were seeking information about such a program for replication purposes, as well as to determine the impact where practiced or implemented.

There is much speculation that substantial isolated efforts are being initiated and perhaps succeeding or failing to some degree. However, restricted dissemination or storage of the information in information banks for quick and easy retrieval and transmission to consumers, service providers, etc. curtails the potential usefulness of the projects striving to make a difference.

Range and Scope of Research Needed Before Implementation, Replication, and Dissemination

Certainly, serious consideration must be given to establishing indicators of success or effectiveness before any attempt is made to implement, replicate, disseminate, etc. nationally. Establishing criteria for judging success or effectiveness should be approached through the use of a national taskforce of appropriate experts convened to consider this important matter. Of some use today though might be a brief review of some information reported in the literature. Slavin and Madden (1989) synthesized research specifically related to successful instructional practices used with "at risk" (defined as Chapter 1 eligible students, special education students, or recipients of other remedial services). This translates to predominantly minority males. Criteria for judging effectiveness was not detailed. They highlighted results from research on what seemed to work for students "at risk" as follows:

(1) prevention programs that apply intensive resources,

(2) instructional methods that accelerate student

achievement, and

(3) supplemental/remedial programs that have proven effective (e.g. remedial tutoring programs, some models of computer-assisted instruction.

To obtain these findings and provide the summary Slavin and Madden (1989) examined published literature, technical reports, government reports, and other sources in search for programs for at-risk students that could be replicated and reported some principles of a school plan for success.

It seems perhaps most reasonable to refer to effective programs as models or exemplary and perhaps innovative. However, criteria for judging a program effective or successful must be considered in order for the "message" to be considered valid perhaps.. features that seem to characterize effective programs for "at-risk" students. Those features are:

(1) Effective programs are preventive and remedial.

(2) Effective programs frequently assess student progress and adapt instruction to individual needs.

(3) Effective programs are comprehensive and include teacher's manuals, lesson guides, etc.

McAdoo (1990) believes effective programs are staffed with personnel who are most likely effective role model and have enhanced involvement of American-American male teachers (at the elementary, secondary as well as post secondary level).

I conclude my presentation by indicating that I do hope these comments have provided some framework for supporting strategy that will indeed assist in reversing the trend that exist today for the African-American male.

Chairman **Owens**. We would now like for all of the remaining panelists to come forward: Dr. William Oliver, Criminal Justice Program of the University of Delaware; Dr. Larry Hawkins, the Institute for Athletics and Education; Dr. Shirley M. McBay, President of the Quality Education for Minorities Network; Dr. Geneva Gay, the School of Education, Purdue University; Dr. Barbara J. Holmes, the Director of Education Commission of the States; Dr. Henry Frierson, Jr., the Office of Educational Development, University of North Carolina.

We will begin with Dr. Oliver.

STATEMENTS OF DR. WILLIAM OLIVER, CRIMINAL JUSTICE PROGRAM, UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE; DR. LARRY HAWKINS, INSTITUTE FOR ATHLETICS AND EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO; DR. SHIRLEY M. McBAY, PRESIDENT, QUALITY EDUCATION FOR MINORITIES NETWORK; AND DR. GENEVA GAY, SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, PURDUE UNIVERSITY

Dr. **Oliver**. Good morning, Mr. Chairman. Can you hear me?

Chairman **Owens**. Yes.

Dr. **Oliver**. I would like to thank you and the members of the subcommittee for inviting me to participate in these deliberations regarding the creation of an Institute for the Education of At-Risk Students. I must say, however, at the outset that I am a criminologist who is primarily concerned with black-on-black violence causation and intervention through community-based or cultural-based interventions.

My testimony this morning focuses on the need for an Afrocentric perspective in correctional education. I would like to say that as we enter the 1990s, the increasing obsolescence of black men in America is one of the most significant social problems contributing to social instability in our society.

As you are well aware, black males are disproportionately represented on almost all negative social indicators. For example, black males lead all other race, sex, or groups with respect to rates of unemployment, arrest, criminal victimization, incarceration, and premature deaths due to substance abuse and homicide.

Given the nature of the data regarding black males and social problems, I believe that the academic community, politicians, public administrators, and most indigenous community based organizations have not adequately networked to formulate a substantive agenda to reduce the high rates of problematic behavior among black males.

In addition, academic and public discourse on the causes and preventions of these problems have been informed by an incomplete analysis. There has been a tendency in America to explain the high rates of social problems among African-Americans as being a product of institutional racism. Indeed, there is no question that institutional racism, i.e., the systematic deprivation of equal access to opportunity, is a major factor contributing to contemporary social problems among African-Americans.

However, I believe that cultural racism is the missing factor in attempts to explain and prevent the high racial social problems among blacks. For example, according to Professor James Jones, cultural racism refers to the belief that black Americans have no distinctive agriculture, economics, music, art, religious beliefs, traditions, language, or story apart from those of mainstream white America and those deriving from the pathology of years of oppression in American society.

There is a voluminous body of social science literature which documents how slavery, the American educational system, religion, and mass media have been used to denigrate the cultural image of African-Americans and to glorify and promote the cultural superiority of European Americans; moreover, those institutions which our society depends on to promote mass education and socialization have had an adverse effect on how African-Americans perceive themselves and their contribution to the world.

For example, in a recent replication of the—I don't know whether or not they are infamous or famous in this setting—but the famous doll studies—Powell, and Hopson—Hopson found that in 1987, 65 percent of black youngsters attributed positive attributes to white dolls and negative attributes to black dolls.

I want to say that I don't believe that this type of research necessarily indicates self-hatred as much as it may indicate an awareness on the part of children at a very young age of mainstream definitions of the differential values attributed to various racial groups that exist within our society.

In addition, quite a few psychologists and psychiatrists have reported there is a strong positive association between cultural racism, systematic deprivation of opportunity, low self-esteem among African-Americans and problematic behavior including mental disorders and interpersonal violence.

I would like to shift the discussion specifically to the correctional education and the Afrocentric paradigm or perspective. I believe that given the high rates of social problems among black males, it is apparent that our educational and criminal justice systems have not adequately addressed the problems of a large number of our at-risk youth.

Therefore, I support the efforts of the Subcommittee on Select Education to create a new Institute for the Education of At-Risk Students. With respect to fulfilling its mission, I would like to suggest that the committee support the inclusion of an Afrocentric perspective in correctional education.

The fact is, that our prisons and jails are filled with adults in need of education, and for the most part correctional education has emphasized occupational skills training. I believe that in addition to skills training, black prisoners must be exposed to a curriculum which counteracts the effects of cultural racism.

An Afrocentric curriculum for correctional institutions would function to counteract, number one, the internalization of a Eurocentric mode of assessing self, other blacks, American society and the world; number two, would counteract the loss of historical memory of their traditional African cultural heritage; and number three, counteract the depreciation of their people and culture.

Black males in prison represent a captive population. While these men are incarcerated, we have a responsibility to them and to the Nation to help facilitate their transformation into functionally significant citizens. Therefore, the purpose of the proposed

Afrocentric curriculum is to mitigate core problems—for example, low self-esteem and the lack of constructive values—that encourage academic failure and involvement in problematic behavior.

The term "Afrocentric" is used in this testimony to refer to that which is African centered. It is my position that the Eurocentric socialization of African-Americans has produced a condition of cultural confusion among black Americans. An Afrocentric curriculum is needed to transform and reconstruct them by introducing them to their history and cultural heritage. This is not to say that the Afrocentric curriculum should replace a multicultural curriculum. I feel that there is a lot of debate and discussion going on about what constitutes multicultural education versus what constitutes Afrocentric education. As I see it, the Afrocentric perspective would be an aspect, a particular feature, of multicultural education.

I also would like to say that I think that you could have a multicultural curriculum that has a Eurocentric bias. So, I do think that there is a need for, not only an Afrocentric perspective, but an Asian perspective, a Native American perspective, et cetera, in education.

I will finish shortly.

Another goal of the Afrocentric curriculum would be to encourage black prisoners to internalize a value system—and I think this is very important—which emphasizes cultural unity, self-help, and social responsibility. Correctional education must not only be designed to train the at-risk prisoner or at-risk student for a job, it must also be designed to facilitate his moral transformation.

Critics may argue that this approach is too ethnic specific. However, the same critics have very little to offer in its place. It is my contention that if America really wants to reduce the high rates of problematic behavior among black males, we must establish a creative core curriculum to address the needs of a diverse population.

In addition, individuals with training and expertise need to be identified and encouraged to become involved with Federal and state-supported initiatives designed to enhance the effectiveness of correctional curricula.

In conclusion, I would like to say that we owe it to ourselves and our country to develop, promote, and practice new ways of addressing the needs of African-American prisoners.

The Afrocentric perspective is simply another way of looking at the world. Perhaps another world view will help at-risk students understand the various structural and cultural factors that are adversely affecting them and what they need to do to become successful in our society.

Finally, I would like to say that the Afrocentric perspective also has utility for the broader correctional population, and that understanding the pluralism in our society is essential to personal growth and mutual cooperation.

Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Dr. William Oliver follows:]

Testimony

William Oliver
Professor, Criminal Justice Program
University of Delaware

Before the Subcommittee on
Select Education Committee
on Education and Labor
U.S. House of Representatives
September 27, 1990

The Rationale for Including an Afrocentric Perspective in Correctional Education

The Rationale for Including an Afrocentric Perspective in Correctional Education

Introduction and Definition of the Problem

As we enter the 1990's, the increasing obsolescence of black men in America is one of the most significant social problems contributing to social instability in our society. Black males are disproportionately represented on almost all negative social indicators. For example, black males lead all other race-sex subgroups with respect to rates of unemployment, arrest, criminal victimization, incarceration and premature deaths due to substance abuse and homicide.[1]

According to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, on December 31, 1988 there were 627,000 prisoners incarcerated in state correctional institutions in the United States.[2] Black men represent 6% of the U.S. population but constitute (50%) of all male prisoners. Moreover, the incarceration rate of African Americans is nine times the rate of white Americans.[3] The disproportionate representation of black men among the correctional population is most prevalent among men in their 20s. In a report issued by the Sentencing Project, it was found that 1 out of 4 black men 20-29 years of age are imprisoned, or on probation or parole.[4]

It is also significant to note that in 1986, 72% of state prison inmates were between 18-34 years old; 62% entered prison with less than a 12th grade education; 42% were either unemployed or working part-time prior to incarceration; 60% earned less than

$10,000 a year prior to incarceration; 43% used drugs daily prior to being incarcerated; and 84% were recidivists, that is, had served prior sentence involving probation, juvenile incarceration or adult incarceration.[6]

The specific focus of this testimony is to call attention to the need to enhance the quality of correctional education for black prisoners. I believe that if steps are taken to restructure correctional educational curricula, that this would contribute toward reducing the high rates of criminal recidivism in the United States.

Inadequate Responses

Given the nature of the data regarding black males and social problems, I believe that the academic community, politicians, public administrators and most indigenous community-based organizations have not adequately networked to formulate a substantive agenda to reduce the high rates of problematic behavior among black males. In addition, I believe that academic and public discourse on the causes and prevention of these problems has been informed by an incomplete analysis.

There has been a tendency in America to explain the high rates of social problems among African Americans as being a product of institutional racism. Indeed there is no question that institutional racism, that is, the systematic deprivation of equal access to oppportunity, is a major factor contributing to contemporary social problems of black Americans. Certainly, the legacy of 246 years (1619-1865) of slavery and 100 years (1865-1965) of de facto and de jure racial discrimination has hindered the ability of African Americans to survive and progress in America in a manner similar to other racial and ethnic groups.

I believe that cultural racism is the missing factor in attempts to explain and prevent the high rates of social problems among African Americans. According to Professor James Jones, the term cultural racism refers to:

> "the belief in the inferiority of another group's implements, handicrafts, agriculture, economics, music, art, religious beliefs, traditions language,... and the belief that black Americans have no distinctive, handicrafts, agriculture, economics, music, art, religious beliefs, traditions language or story apart from those of mainstream white America and those deriving from the pathology of years of oppression in American society."[6]

Theoretical perspectives establish the basis for prevention and intervention programs. Thus a comprehensive analysis of "the causes" of the high rates of social problems among African Americans must include some consideration of the effect of cultural racism on African Americans.

There is a voluminous body of social science literature which documents how slavery, the American educational system, religion and the mass media have been used to denigrate the cultural image of African Americans and to glorify and promote the cultural superiority of European-Americans. Moreover, those institutions which our society depends on to promote mass education and socialization have had an adverse effect on how

African Americans perceive themselves and their contribution to the world. For example, in a recent replication of the famous doll studies, Powell-Hopson and Hopson found that in 1987 65% of black youngsters attributed positive attributes to white dolls and negative attributes to black dolls.[7] In addition, quite a few psychologists and psychiatrists have reported that there is a strong positive association between cultural racism, systematic deprivation of opportunity, low self esteem among African Americans and problematic behavior, including: mental disorders and interpersonal violence.[8]

Correctional Education and the Afrocentric Perspective

Given the high rates of social problems among black males it is apparent that our educational and criminal justice systems have not adequately addressed the problems of a large number of our at-risk youth. Therefore, I support the efforts of the Subcommittee on Select Education to create a new Institute for the Education of At-Risk Students. With respect to fulfilling its mission I would like to suggest that the committee support the inclusion of an Afrocentric perspective in correctional education.

The fact is that our prisons and jails are filled with adults in need of education. For the most part correctional education has emphasized occupational skills training. I believe that in addition to skills training that black prisoners must be exposed to a curriculum which counteracts the effects of cultural racism. An Afrocentric Curriculum for Correctional Institutions would function to counteract (1) the internalization of a Euro-American mode of assessing self, other blacks, American society and the world; (2) the loss of historical memory of their traditional African cultural heritage; and (3) self-hatred and depreciation of their people and culture.

Black males in prison represent a captive population. While these men are incarcerated we have a responsibility to them and to the nation to help facilitate their transformation into functionally significant citizens. I believe that many of our black males are totally out of control. Therefore, the purpose of the Afrocentric curriculum is to mitigate core problems (e.g., low self-esteem and the lack of constructive values) that encourage academic failure and involvement in problematic behavior.

The term Afrocentric is used here to refer to that which is African centered. It is my position that the Eurocentric socialization of African Americans has produced a condition of cultural confusion among black Americans. More specifically, I believe that cultural confusion among African Americans is a product of their exposure to an educational system and mass media which has promoted; an Afrocentric curriculum would be to reconstruct them by introducing them to their history and cultural heritage.

Another major goal of the Afrocentric curriculum would be to encourage black prisoners to internalize a value system which emphasizes cultural unity, self-help and social responsibility. Correctional education must not only be designed to train the at-risk student for a job, it must also be designed to facilitate his moral transformation.

Critics may argue that this approach is too ethnic specific. However, the same critics have very little to offer in its place. It is my contention that if America really wants to reduce high rates of problematic behavior among black males, we must be committed to establishing a creative core curriculum to address the needs of a diverse population.

In addition, individuals with training and expertise need to be identified and encouraged to become involved in with federal and state supported initiatives to enhance the effectiveness correctional curricula.

Conclusion

We owe it to ourselves and our country to develop, promote, and part into practice new ways of addressing the needs of African American prisoners. The Afrocentric perspective is simply another way of looking at the world. Perhaps, another world view will provide at risk students of why they are not successful and what they need to do to become successful in our society.

Finally, the Afrocentric perspective also has utility for the broader correctional population. Understanding the pluralism in our society is essential to personal growth and mutual cooperation.

NOTES

1. See W. Oliver, Black Males and Social Problems: Prevention Through Afrocentric Socialization Journal of Black Studies, Vol. 20, No. 1 (September 1989), pp. 15-39; Jewell Taylor Gibbs (ed.), Young, Black, and Male in America: An Endangered Species (Dover, Mass.: Auburn House Publishing Company, 1988).

2. Bureau of Justice Statistics, Profile of State Prison Inmates, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1988).

3. Rachael Kamel, The Fortress Economy - The Economic Role of the U.S. Prison System (Philadelphia: American Friends Service Committee, 1990).

4. National Institute of Justice/Bureau of Justice Statistics, The Sentencing Project (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice, 1990).

5. Bureau of Justice Statistics, Correctional Populations in the United States (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Justice (1986).

6. James Jones, Prejudice and Racism (Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1972, Reading, Mass.)

7. Darlene Powell-Hopson and Derek Hopson, "Implications of Doll-Color Preferences Among Black Preschool Children and White Preschool Children," The Journal of Black Psychology, Vol. 14, No 2, (February 1988), pp. 57-63.

8. See Naim Akbar, Chains and Images of Psychological Slavery (New Mind Productions, Jersey City, N.J., 1984), Joseph Baldwin, "African Self-Consciousness and Mental Health of African Americans. Journal of Black Studies, Vol. 15, No. 2, pp. 177-194.

BIOGRAPHY

William Oliver is a professor in the Criminal Justice Program at the University of Delaware. He is a graduate of Tuskegee Institute and the School of Criminal Justice at the State University of New York at Albany. His primary research examines the interpersonal dynamics of violent confrontations among black men. He is also involved in developing community-based prevention programs to reduce the high rates of crime and other social problems among African Americans.

Professor Oliver is the author of several published articles which discuss the causes and prevention of black on black violence and has recently completed chapters on Black Gangs and Black Mens' Studies and the Afrocentric Paradigm.

Regarding community service, he is a member of the Latino Task Force of Delaware, the Board of Directors of the Key Program (a jail-based drug treatment program) and an Elder with People Settlement's African Rites of Passage.

Chairman OWENS. Thank you.

Dr. Hawkins.

Dr. HAWKINS. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I would like to make just a few comments on my paper that I have submitted. I have said pretty much what I want to say in the paper, but the turn of events here this morning as you got into an area that, I must confess, floored me when you began to talk about sport in this arena.

My background, of course, is in sport, and that is why I am here representing the Institute for Athletics and Education. We spent a good deal of time trying to figure out, along with Bill Mallory—Mr. Payne, from your end of the woods—trying to figure out what it is about sport that is usable and that makes sense, educationally, for young people in school.

In order to speak to that clearly, we have to define "sports" as we use it. There is corporate sports, which has to do with Division I, the pros, and those kinds of activities. That's business and money. It has nothing to do with the elementary and high school sports that we are describing, which has to do more with amateurs. And we also have to make another kind of definition, that when we talk about athletes, we are talking about what one coach said, his other 14.

What you read in the newspaper represents from two to three percent of athletes at any one time that are playing in high school. So, when you start talking about what the paper says about athletes, you are talking about three percent who are the top flight athletes at the time.

The young people I am concerned about, are the other 97 to 98 percent who have a reasonable experience in sports, who stay out of trouble, who generally graduate from high school, who go on to college, and even though they don't play sports, they finish college and get out.

It seems to me that there are some very good things that happen in sports, but if you listen to most of the conversation that I hear in education, which is why I was so floored this morning. Of course, I knew what Jomills had done, because I had read his works. But, as I listened this morning, I was amazed and very happy that we are at once talking about young men and young women who are imperiled in our communities, and we saw that sports is one way to reach out to them, that's almost nonpareil in anything I have seen so far.

I don't want to go a lot further because I think I say all that I want to say in that project. But, there were three or four things that came up that I thought I wanted to respond to. One of them—I think Mr. Bartlett was keen about the Texas model of no-pass, no-play.

Now, we had a conference just a few days ago, where we brought some people from around the country. One of the people who came to our conference down at the University of Chicago, was Mr. Josephs who is the head of the Texas Coaches Association. He doesn't think much of no-pass, no-play. He thinks it has had an adverse effect on the young people that would normally come out for sport. That peripheral group that we talk about. Those young men who, because of where they come from, or because of the conditions of their homes, or the conditions of their communities, who are absolutely hard nosed, and who understand sports because it has a hard-nosed quality to it, those young people, he contends.

Of course, a number of the people that are part of a group that we work with, called the National Urban Athletic Administrators Group, of which Bill Mallory is one of the founding members, that group argues that they see it in their cities; those people have walked away from sports. We are losing them. And I think that is a direct result of this no-pass, no-play.

The last point that I want to make, and then we can pass it on to someone else, we argue that sports is important because it does several things, and there are studies to support this. There need to be far more studies, but right now there are studies to support the fact that sports reduces dropouts. It reduces dropouts for the people who are part of the team. We are not clear, and the evidence we need to find is, what does it do to the people who watch sports and to the people who are in the schools.

We know, for instance in Chicago, that when the school is successful at sports, attendance is up. Sports reduces the number of people who get caught up in gangs. There are several studies that have looked at that and we find that sports itself is a gang. It simply does positive things and not negative things. And football players who finish a day in football, have nothing to do but to go home and to go to bed after they eat. That's a given.

Sports reduces delinquency. A couple of guys in Texas looked about 1986 to see what happens to young people who are in sports, how do they get involved in delinquent behavior versus their schoolmates. Well, they found that they got involved less, significantly less, and when they were involved, it was less serious. Now, that's a start. We don't know what it is in the rest of the country, but we know that in that particular place, that's what they found.

That has to do with some of our research which we have submitted, I think, to the committee. It argues that kids who are involved in sports, are 92 percent less likely to be involved with drug abuse. Now, that comes out of the high school and beyond data set.

In one of our sessions at the conference over the last couple of days, the research session really, I think, was a very hot one. What came out of that is the message that I want to bring to the committee here, is that there are thousands of questions that we need to raise. We know that kids who are in sports, stay in it. But we don't know about the people who are around them, what they do.

We know, for instance, that kids who are in school that has a good sports team, have a good view of themselves, but we don't know how that is translated; how do we use it; how do educators use it. We know that sports can produce excellence, can produce young people who can do very well, and we know that a young person who is a good athlete, generally is not slow. He might be less interested in school than others, but he can do very well.

And, finally, we are convinced, but there needs to be some looking, that sports is the greatest motivator in young people that I have seen. Now, that is anecdotal. What we need is the hard evidence to fashion that, if indeed it is true, or to prove that it is not true. If that is true, then the kinds of comments that I get from the people who are in secondary improvement centers around the country, who say that sports is not a part of our modality, we don't want to look at that because it doesn't have anything to do with education, we might be able to get those people to open their eyes a little wider and see that young people, hard-nosed young people, and young people almost everywhere, have a universal interest in sport.

And what we should be looking at doing, is increasing sports, using kids who are dropouts, but have sport skills, catching them by the sports skills and turning them around, and have them work with these young people, and have them work in conjunction with the professional coaches that we have in our high schools.

I believe that that kind of activity would make a dent in the kinds of Gordian problems that we see in our communities, all the negative sociologies that have been so well laid out here by the panel. I am convinced that that's true. The only caution I would like to make, is, we need to have some frontier researchers in it. Don't do it all in the laboratories in the colleges and universities.

Some of us coaches—and I must say I got permission to leave my volley ball team to come here today. If I hadn't said that, they would shoot me when I got back. Some of us coaches are not very clever about a lot of things, but we do know what we have seen. We can help with the research.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Larry Hawkins follows:]

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STATEMENT OF LARRY HAWKINS, PRESIDENT
INSTITUTE FOR ATHLETICS AND EDUCATION
before the
SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT EDUCATION
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR
UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

HEARINGS

SEPTEMBER 27, 1990

Good Morning Mr. Chairman, and Members of the Committee. I want to thank you, Congressman Owens for inviting me to appear before this committee.

As a member of Congressman Hayes' Education Committee, I know of his deep interest in matters having to do with education and I am grateful to him for his consistent support.

I should point out at the outset that my frame of reference and specific area of interest is somewhat different from most of the other speakers who will appear before you, I am a high school coach in the Chicago Public School system who, in the jargon of the military, is on TDY at the University of Chicago, as the Director of the Office of Special Programs. This concurrent arrangement has existed for over twenty years. In addition, currently I serve as President of the Institute for Athletics in Education (iae); a National Organization headquartered in Chicago with members in 25 states and the District of Columbus.

The institute, founded in 1972, is affiliated with the University of Chicago and a local community based organization, Big Buddies Youth Services, Inc. It sponsors activities supporting the philosophy that sport should reinforce the goals of elementary and high school education.

I hope the series of questions and answers regarding the Pre-Collegiate Interscholastic Athletics will be helpful.

What do we at the Institute for Athletics and Education (iae) stand for? First and foremost, we are concerned with improving the education American society provides for its young people. The life style in this country, particularly in large cities, is being endangered by a number of social ills: poverty, crime, unemployment, teenage pregnancy, drug use and gang-related activity, to name a few. As Gordon Berlin of the Ford Foundation has indicated, the fact that a large segment of the population cannot read, write compute or communicate both intensifies and contributes to these problems. We hold that the most appropriate and direct public response to these social dilemmas is to improve the American system of public education.

Many of our nation's elementary and secondary schools, especially those in the largest metropolitan areas, currently face a multitude of problems. Tremendous amounts of time, money and energy have been spent in research and policy formulation attempting to address their well-documented problems. We whole heartedly support these initiatives and view our mission as consistent with such reform efforts. What is unique about our vision of strengthening the nation's schools, however, is that we focus on a particular activity associated with schools-- a so-called "extracurricular" activity that is often overlooked by educational researchers and reformers-- namely, interscholastic athletics. Specifically, we believe that interscholastic sports programs in elementary and secondary schools, properly understood, organized and implemented , can make significant contributions toward the educational aims of these institutions.

Why do we focus our educational concerns on interscholastic sports programs? For reasons which are only beginning to be understood by sports scholars and critics, sport is an activity that captures the attention and interest of a wide audience of American, and does so in a manner quite unlike any other institutionalized activity in American society today. We do not claim to understand any more than others why this is; nor do we wish to pass judgement on whether the importance Americans place upon sport is desirable or otherwise. We simply accept the prominent social position of sport in America as a social fact and propose to use this knowledge (that sport does seem to be important, even vital, to millions of Americans) as a tool, a mechanism for improving the nation's schools.

Whether we like it or not, sports activities are the school sponsored activities that receive the most concerted interest, the highest levels of involvement and too often the only positive attention from parents, students, community member and the media alike. We see to harness the energies devoted to interscholastic sports, and utilize them, re-direct them in a sense,toward strengthening the overall educational mission of a school.

Furthermore, we believe interscholastic athletics may be an especially critical and effective educational tool in the country's largest metropolitan areas, because it is here, in the inner-city school districts where the problems suffered by schools are most acute, that the power sport holds over young people and the community at large seems to be in fact most compelling. It is here that sports may be the most significant motivation for non-academically oriented students to stay in school, for students to build stronger self-images, for student bodies to develop a sense of pride and school spirit, for parents to become involved with the school and for the community members to support the school as a viable community institution. Few schools in the inner-cities have been able to develop policies to achieve these vital school characteristics. We are convinced that interscholastic athletics provide an extremely accessible avenue, one of the only remaining avenues, toward these goals.

Ultimately, we are concerned about the proper education of our young people and will utilize any tool, program, policy, approach or philosophy that will bring us nearer to the best possible system of education. In our view sport is just such an activity. To put it simply, we seek to translate the inherent American interest in sport into a co-curricular activity that advances the cause of education in the United States.

What do we mean by interscholastic sports programs or interscholastic athletics? By interscholastic sports programs we do *not* mean physical education classes or intramural athletics, though obviously these are sport-centered activities that serve their own distinctly important roles in a school's overall program. More precisely, what we mean to discuss are the types of school sports programs in which a school organizes selected students in various sports into teams which then compete against similarly organized teams from other area schools. There is really nothing novel about this concept: virtually every high school in America possesses such a sports program, as well as a surprisingly large number of junior high and middle schools.

What is the problem with these sports programs as they currently exist? The answer to this question cuts to the heart of what we are trying to accomplish at iae. Despite the widespread proliferation of such sports programs across American schools, our own preliminary research and extensive field experience have demonstrated quite convincingly that the vast majority of these programs are not properly understood, organized or implemented. Too often these sports programs exist almost as entities unto themselves, without a definite purpose and constructive understanding of how they interact with a school's educational curriculum: its first and overriding obligation. What is both innovative and crucial about our task is that we are trying to define and articulate the *proper* role of interscholastic sports programs in schools in order to convince policy-makers of their potential educational value.

What is the proper role of an interscholastic athletic program in a school? We believe a sports program should be a part of a school's program of activities if, and only if, its goals and purposes are entirely consistent with the overarching mission of the school itself: namely, the education of young people. Therefore, interscholastic athletics must be understood as a co-curricular activity-- a school sponsored program that supports the overriding educational aims of programs on the pre-collegiate levels solely according to the yardstick of their educational value, else the games have ceased to serve their purpose. Any other justification for pre-collegiate sports is misguided and mistaken. Again, this philosophy of school-aged sport is not widely understood and accepted currently in the United States; but is crucial if we wish to justify maintaining athletic programs in conjunction with our schools.

How does an interscholastic sports program contribute to the overall educational goals of a school? To put it another way, how are athletic programs "educational?" When we speak of the educational value of an athletic program, we refer to a number of contributions such a program can provide to the education of our young people.

The most traditional outlook relating to the educational value of sports is that they "teach" youngsters habits of discipline, respect for authority, healthy self image, proper teamwork, the benefits of hard work and competition. To be sure, we believe that these are the kinds of individual, moralistic lessons that athletes take from their participation in sport, but the notion of "educational" we seek to expound is more broadly academic.

Athletic programs should be "educational," in the sense that they should contribute to the academic growth and development of students, both athletes and non-athletes alike. To put it bluntly, interscholastic athletics must facilitate the reading, writing and arithmetic skills of the entire student body. Upon initial consideration many people do not realize how interscholastic athletic programs can be educational in the academic sense. Let us mention in terms of individual student effects up through school-wide institutional impacts, a few of the ways in which we understand this process to occur:

> --Interscholastic sports programs help keep otherwise uninterested students in school, working toward a diploma and accumulating the skills necessary for success in our society today. This impact mainly applies to student-athletes who are in effect rewarded with athletic participation for academic achievement; yet it also applies to non-athletes who may have hopes of one day playing

on the team or even those who simply enjoy attending sporting events.

--As James Coleman an educational sociologist from the University of Chicago has described, students-athletes, precisely because of their high-profile position as athletes representing an institution, often become the most significant role models for their non-athlete peers. To be certain, this is not an inherently positive or negative occurrence, but it happens and if a program is run correctly--if athletes are required to maintain satisfactory levels of academic achievement, attendance and discipline--their example can benefit all of those students who look to them for leadership. The key point here being, that a strong athletic program, here being, that a strong athletic program, by virtue of its privileged cultural status as a sport-centered activity, can set a disciplined, progressive model benefiting the entire atmosphere of the institution, creating a healthy, productive environment for learning.

--When a school's team competes against another, the entire school community will often assemble behind that team, forming a kind of social bond that also fosters a health social atmosphere. Again, Coleman's work has shown us that through an institutionalized sporting event, and activity with extremely high levels of community interest and involvement, a school will often find its entire community of individuals drawn together in support of a common objective developing a productive sense of identity and morale.

--An athletic event tends to draw together a large group of individuals associated in one way or another with the institutional--parents, teachers, administrators, students, etc-- into an efficient school-centered network of communication. Often the majority of these individuals may not interact with one another, but an athletic event provides the ideal social setting in which individual relationships between parents, teachers, administrators and students can be established, facilitating the healthy flow of information and strong support networks required in effective schools.

If the vast majority of American schools already have such athletic programs in place, is it not true that these academic benefits will be achieved regardless of how these programs are justified? No necessarily. As long as sports programs exist without a correct understanding of the purposes they serve and the benefits they bring to educational institutions, it is impossible for those institutions to utilize such programs to their maximum effectiveness. That is, if administrators, coaches and teachers do not fully realize how a sports program benefits its student body, they cannot appreciate and encourage those benefits brought by the existence of such a program. Moreover, when those in positions of decision-making do not realize the philosophical justification underlying interscholastic sports programs, they may be likely to view these programs as extraneous to the overall curriculum of the institution and when budget cutting time comes, treat athletic programs as activities that can justifiably be sacrificed. This possibility is more that hypothetical: a number of large metropolitan school districts including those in Detroit, New Orleans and Buffalo, are considering, or have recently considered severely curtailing or eliminating interscholastic sports programs. Again, we believe the elimination of sports programs from high schools, junior highs and middle schools would be a tremendous mistake, because we are convinced that this type of, non-traditional educationly-oriented activity benefits schools in the manners discussed above.

What is the source of the present confusion and misunderstanding that characterizes current understandings of school-aged athletics? If our prior research and experience has taught us anything, it is that the vast majority of Americans see no significant differentiations among sports activities in the professional, collegiate and pre-collegiate ranks. Yet each of these levels is, or at least should be, a very different kind of activity, replete with very different justifications and aims. It is imperative that we must learn to distinguish between the different levels of sport that exist in the United States. For example, we find it imperative to differentiate sports activities on the high school and elementary levels with those in the college and professional ranks. Post-high school sports in America)especially Division I college professional sports) have heavy investments in winning, increasing attendance and ultimately generating revenue. They operate on what we refer to as the "corporate model." Whether this emphasis is appropriate or not on these levels is beyond the realm of our immediate attention. The point that we with to highlight instead is that school-aged, amateur sport cannot and should not be understood according to this corporate paradigm (as is unfortunately the current situation) because this model blurs the purposes and motivations that should properly underlie school-aged athletics; rather, we must understand pre-collegiate, interscholastic sport according to the educational model we have laid out.

How do we verify this educational model? How can we document the impacts school-aged sport have upon the educational process? We currently have a great deal of experience and testimony from educators, coaches and teachers that demonstrates to us the significant positive impacts a sports program can have upon an educational institution. We must admit , however, that our understanding of school-aged sport are not accepted by everyone and many of the previously mentioned impacts have not been subjected to the critical scrutiny necessary to document their significance conclusively . For example, an August 1989 study commissioned by the Women's Athletic Foundation and funded by Miller Lite seemed to suggested that athletes, in particular minority athletes in the inner-city, perform no better or worse than their non-athlete counterparts and exhibit no greater or lesser tendencies to drop out of school or succeed in later life. These findings contradict directly with our own experience and that of many of our contacts in the field. Yet we presently lack the evidence necessary to support our understanding of how interscholastic athletics help student. In short, we need to be able to verify the things we say and have observed about athletics and education.

Toward this end, we have a three-part agenda for the research and development of a general understanding of the proper linkages between interscholastic athletic and elementary and secondary education:

(1) We aspire to clearly document, through research and careful field observations, that sports programs indeed contribute a great deal toward the education (academic) goal of a school. We must detail how this process works in order to convince educators that it works-- that interscholastic athletics contain vast educational potentials that have been largely unrealized.

(2) We need to demonstrate the exact processes and mechanisms by which the best sports processes and mechanisms by which the best sports programs achieve the desired academic end. It is important to remember that sports programs, like any other type of public policy initiatives, are not inherently good or bad for an institution. The unique benefits we have been discussing apply to athletic programs implemented with a specific philosophy and approach to sports and education. It is our job to articulate this philosophy and outline actual athletic programs to meet these goals. This requires that we look at specific case studies to record examples of how the best sports programs interact with the academic curriculum. Like all programs, athletics require effective, intelligent leadership and organization to function properly and efficiently.

For example, because of their positions of authority in the already powerful world of sports, coaches are an important component of the educational model of school-aged sport. An academically successful athletic program requires coaches whose top priority is not necessarily winning games, but attending to the educational needs of his athletes. In our conception of a properly oriented athletic program, coaches are both counselors and teachers, specifically attuned to helping to educate the total child.

(3) We need to market this information, make it available to those principals, administrators and superintendents who oversee associated with their schools, so that they can continue to utilize interscholastic athletics in conjunction with the educational mission of their schools and so that they can implement these sports

programs in a manner that will most effectively and economically benefit their school's academic curriculum.

In conclusion, we can accomplish these objectives only through concerted efforts at demonstrating and articulating, in very concrete and tangible ways, the actual benefits such programs bring to a school. Our overarching objectives are to establish in proper social scientific fashion, the effects of sports programs on a school; therefore, providing us with the factual evidence to "prove" or at least solid and concretize what we have been arguing for so long: that school sports programs, properly implemented and administered, can make very significant positive contributions to the educational objectives of pro-collegiate institutions of education. And finally, to use this knowledge about how and why interscholastic athletics affect schools toward improving the quality of education provided by American public schools today.

Chairman Owens. Thank you.

Dr. Shirley McBay.

Dr. McBay. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Mr. Payne. I would like to give an abbreviated version of my abbreviated testimony in the interest of time.

Let me just say very quickly that the Quality Education for Minorities Network is a nonprofit organization that was established to help carry out the vision and goals and the report, "Education That Works: An Action Plan for the Education of Minorities." I brought along a couple of copies of the report if the committee is interested in having it. You do have the summary already.

I do want to thank you very much for this opportunity to talk about the effects of the country's educational crisis on minority students, and to simply point out to you that as we travelled around the country we did find many examples of promising strategies and successful programs that were in place. Most of them, however, had only anecdotal evidence of their success, and there is this need for the hard evidence.

We were very disturbed by the evidence that we found, everywhere we went, about the detrimental effects of tracking. I won't go into that now, but I simply want to underscore the comments earlier about the need to find alternatives to tracking, and the need for doing research on that. That system stratifies the population on the basis of socioeconomic status, and it leads to substantial day-to-day experiences for our students.

One of the things that we have found is that tracking, then, as a result, leads to an educated elite, and that educate elite is not large enough to meet all of our needs for leadership in this country.

What I would like to do next, is make two or three suggestions for ways that we might improve the situation for minority students who tend to be disproportionately in those lower tracks.

One, is to begin with terminology. I think we need to avoid the stigma and low expectations that are conveyed by the use of such negative labels as disadvantaged, culturally deprived, and I must say, at-risk. Those terms suggest deficits in the students instead of deficits in the system that has underserved those students.

We would advocate as well the replication and support of exemplary projects, and there are many; we document those in the report. We think, as well, that there should be demonstration projects to test promising strategies. So, in short, we certainly support the need for ongoing research and evaluation, and we then support the creation of the Institute that you are considering.

It is our feeling, however, that the Institute, in order to increase its effectiveness, and do so in a timely manner, that it ought to consider using existing research and development capabilities at sites where there is a demonstrated commitment and interest in the education of minorities. What this would do is to avoid the delay and expense of having to create another Federal research and development infrastructure.

We would see this institute funding others to conduct research, to evaluate existing educational initiatives, to collect and disseminate information on successful strategies, and to establish demonstration programs to improve the education of minorities.

I would like to go into depth very quickly with respect to one model that we would like to see established as a way of promoting academic excellence and high achievement among minority students. And that's the concept of residential academies. Let me very briefly describe what we have in mind here.

We think that we want to find a way of achieving a goal of ensuring that when students finish high school, or when they finish this academy, that their academic achievement is such that they are able to be fully successful in the work place, or fully successful in college, and not be in need of remedial education.

We think that to accomplish that goal, that we should develop a pilot network of residential youth academies from grades 7 through 12. Those academies would target minority students from low-income families, especially youngsters who would be the first in their families to attend college. And they would also target students who are not succeeding in achieving their full potential in school or at home.

The guiding principle of these academies would be that all children can learn in an environment of high expectations that promotes confidence and high self-esteem, and in which there is access to quality teaching and other important educational resources.

Each academy would have a strong academic core throughout its six-year curriculum. There would be a strong focus on science and mathematics. Leadership, self-discipline, communication, mediation, and cooperation would be key concepts stressed in the academies, as would be developing a sense of responsibility and sharpening decision-making skills. Ethnic culture, community history, and minority role models would be emphasized.

Innovative methods of instruction would be employed, such as cooperative learning, team teaching, and hands-on activity. The curriculum would stress the development of positive life skills, values, and attitudes, such as conflict resolution, self-esteem, and assertiveness. There would also be a focus on the acquisition of democratic values centered around the themes of participation, equality, valuing diversity, and interdependence.

In the senior high school curriculum, students would begin to explore various career options through internships and apprenticeships. All students would be required to perform community service.

One of the most exciting aspects of the new residential academies would be to give students the opportunity to explore one or more fields in some depth; fields such as science and technology, environment in public policy, business and industry, and arts and communications.

We propose the establishment of a pilot network of five to seven of these residential academies located in or near large minority population centers, and preferably on minority college campuses. While not focusing specifically on African-American males, we see the academies as a way of allowing these youngsters to express their natural talent and creativity, and to develop the confidence and competence that will allow them to help provide the critical leadership that we feel is needed to uplift and sustain the African-American community.

Mr. Chairman and Mr. Payne, we would be very happy to provide any additional details on the residential academies, as well as on any of the other strategies that we have recommended for improving the education of minority children; indeed, of all children.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Shirley M. McBay follows:]

TESTIMONY
OF
SHIRLEY M. McBAY, PRESIDENT
QUALITY EDUCATION FOR MINORITIES NETWORK
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT EDUCATION OF THE
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
SEPTEMBER 27, 1990

Mr. Chairman, members of the Subcommittee on Select Education, my name is Shirley McBay. I am President of the Quality Education for Minorities Network, a non-profit organization in Washington, D.C. established in July 1990, and dedicated to improving education for minorities throughout the nation. The Network is a focal point for the implementation of strategies to help realize the vision and goals set forth in the report **"EDUCATION THAT WORKS: AN ACTION PLAN FOR THE EDUCATION OF MINORITIES"**. The report was issued in January 1990 by the MIT-based Quality Education for Minorities Project, following more than two years of travel around the country, exploring effective programs and strategies to improve the education of minority children, youth, and adults. I have brought along several copies of the report, its summary, and a description of the Network for the Subcommittee.

I want to thank the Subcommittee for this opportunity to speak to you about the effects of the educational crisis facing this country on poor and minority students. It was this issue, and the failure of a number of educational reports to seriously address it, that led to support from the Carnegie Corporation of New York for the Quality Education for Minorities Project. This project provided a mechanism for minority Americans to voice their concerns and to put forth a plan for restructuring the country's educational system so that it is more responsive to the needs and aspirations of minority children. The QEM Network is the vehicle by which this plan will be implemented. Through coordination, cooperation, and collaboration with individuals, groups, and organizations around the country, the Network will:

- Serve as a national resource and catalyst to help unite and strengthen educational restructuring efforts to the benefit of minority children, youth, and adults, while advancing minority participation and leadership in the national debate on how best to insure access to a quality education for all citizens.

- Serve as a national information and communications network on issues, effective strategies, promising research results, and potential resources for supporting efforts to improve the education of minorities. At the local and state levels, efforts will be directed toward helping groups, organizations, and institutions develop strategies for mobilizing their communities and states around needed educational improvements.

- Monitor, evaluate and report on legislation, policies, and practices that affect the education of minority students with a specific focus on progress being made toward the attainment of the six goals set forth in the QEM Action Plan:

GOAL 1 Ensure that minority students start school prepared to learn.

GOAL 2 Ensure that the academic achievement of minority youth is at a level that will enable them, upon graduation from high school, to enter the work force or college fully prepared to be successful and not in need of remedial education.

Goal 3 Significantly increase the participation of minority students in higher education, with a special emphasis on the study of mathematics, science, and engineering.

Goal 4 Strengthen and increase the number of teachers of minority students.

Goal 5 Strengthen the school-to-work transition so that minority students who do not choose college leave high school prepared with the skills necessary to participate productively in the world of work and with the foundation required to upgrade their skills and advance their careers.

Goal 6. Provide quality out-of-school educational experiences and opportunities to supplement the schooling of minority youth and adults.

As our report's title suggests, we found many examples of successful and promising programs and strategies in the process of developing our plan. However, in every place we visited, there was evidence of an educational system that disproportionately puts minority children into remedial tracks and the detrimental effects of this practice on them. We found a system in place that stratifies students along socioeconomic status lines; that leads to substantial differences in their day-to-day learning experiences; that has minority children being taught by the least experienced and weakest teachers; and that creates an alienated, dulled peer environment. It is from these low-track classes that students who drop out of school disproportionately come. It is in these classes, that Black, Hispanic, and Indian youth are disproportionately found.

The fate of the majority of these students has been effectively sealed for, unlike their more privileged peers in the higher tracks, they will not have access to quality instruction; they will not experience learning in a climate of high expectations; they will not risk trying for fear of yet another failure; and they will not enroll in courses that will prepare them to be successful in either college or the work place. Most negatively affected by this way of educating our children are African American and Hispanic males.

An approach that impedes a significant portion of its youth from successfully pursuing higher education inevitably leads to an educated elite, a group too small to provide the leadership this country will need to ensure its economic security and social well-being.

In discussing how to improve the condition of education for children from poor and minority backgrounds, which is the focus of this hearing, we should perhaps begin with terminology. One of the lessons we learned over the last three years was the need to avoid the stigma and the low expectations conveyed to students, teachers, and others through the use of such negative labels as "disadvantaged", "culturally deprived", and "at-risk". Such terms suggest deficits in the students instead of in the system that has underserved them.

Also emerging during the preparation of our report was the clear need for on-going research, for replicating and supporting exemplary projects, and for establishing demonstration initiatives that might lead to educational improvement for these students. And so, we would support the creation of an Institute, such as the one under consideration by this Subcommittee, that could meet this need. To ensure the Institute's effectiveness, however, it will be important for it to use existing research and development capabilities within institutions and organizations experienced in, and committed to, the education of minorities. This would avoid the delay and expense of having to create a federal research and development infrastructure within the Institute.

We envision the Institute funding others to: conduct research; evaluate existing educational initiatives; collect and disseminate information on successful strategies; and establish demonstration programs to improve the education of minorities.

One of the approaches that we would like to see established as a model to promote academic excellence and high achievement of minority students is the residential academy. Such academies would primarily serve minority junior high and high school students from low-income families. We propose the establishment of a pilot network of five to seven of these residential academies, preferably on or near predominantly minority college campuses located in or near large minority population centers. Since this concept might serve as a demonstration program, allow me to describe this concept in some detail.

Residential Youth Academies

GOAL

Ensure that the academic achievement of minority youth is at a level that will enable them, upon graduation from high school, to enter the work force or college fully prepared to be successful and not in need of remedial education.

To achieve this goal we propose to develop a pilot network of Residential Youth Academies that will:

- Target minority students from low-income families, especially youngsters who would be the first in their families to attend college; however, the academy will also be open to other students to ensure diversity.

- Serve youngsters who have not succeeded in achieving their full potential at school or at home.

The guiding principle of these academies is that all children can learn in an environment of high expectations that promotes confidence and high self-esteem and in which there is access to quality teaching and other important educational resources.

SELECTION AND FINANCIAL AID

- Students may attend the academy only with the approval and support of their parents or guardian.
- Students may be nominated by any member of the community - a teacher, a parent, a member of the clergy, a neighbor, or a relative. Self-nominations are also possible.
- The male/female ratio will be approximately 50-50.
- Financial aid will be available to cover expenses and will be awarded strictly on the basis of need.

The application process will be designed to encourage participation, not discourage it. Once applicants are admitted, there will be no differentiation among students according to levels of achievement.

CORE CURRICULUM

- Each academy will have a strong academic core throughout its six-year curriculum.
- The core curriculum will be the same at each residential academy and will have a strong focus on science and mathematics education. These two areas are increasingly more important to achieving success in our rapidly changing culture.
- The curriculum will be oriented so that each academy graduate will be prepared for post-secondary education if he or she chooses. Each student will have gained the essential skills necessary to succeed in both college and the work place.
- Each student will develop cognitive skills and the desire to learn. Leadership, self-discipline, communication, mediation, and cooperation will also be key concepts in the academies.

- Ethnic culture, community history, and minority role models will be emphasized.

- The goals of the core curriculum will be the same throughout the system, but each academy will have the freedom to achieve these goals in creative and diverse ways to maximize the use of available resources.

- Innovative methods of instruction will be employed. Examples of these include cooperative learning, mastery learning, team teaching, computer-based instruction, coalition building, and hands-on activity.

- Health education and physical fitness will be basic elements of the core curriculum. Developing a sense of responsibility and sharpening decision-making skills will be emphasized throughout.

- The junior high school curriculum will stress the development of positive life skills, values, and attitudes such as conflict resolution, self-esteem, communication, assertiveness, cooperation, and understanding. It will also focus on the acquisition of democratic values, centered around the themes of participation, equality, valuing diversity, and interdependence.

- In senior high school, students will begin to explore career options through internships, independent study, and apprenticeships. All students will be required to perform community service.

AREAS OF EXPLORATION

- One of the most exciting aspects of the new residential academies will be the opportunity for students to explore one or more fields in some depth, fields such as science and technology, environment and public policy, business and industry, and arts and communications. This will add flavor to an already excellent core curriculum.

- The academy will create these opportunities through partnerships involving business, universities, government, and community organizations.

COMMUNITY OUTREACH

- To facilitate the admissions process and to better link the academies with the communities they are designed to serve, a community outreach program will be established at each academy. This program will enable each academy to respond to the needs of the community and the community to participate in the education process at the academy.
- To integrate the academy and the community, the Outreach program will provide services to parents and will be a means of structuring the community service requirement of academy students.
- Seminars for teachers, administrators, and community leaders to highlight the progress of the academies will be part of the outreach effort. In this way, local schools will benefit from the improved curriculum and methods used in the residential academies. This will expand the reach of reform, and allow more students to participate in the educational progress taking place at each academy.

STAFF

- Residential academies that provide outstanding individualized instruction and academic counseling as well as a solid residential support program require highly motivated, highly qualified, and culturally sensitive staff.
- Sufficient staff must be available to ensure the small class size necessary for personal and sustained attention.
- A strong guidance program will be established with professional counselors, teachers, and administrators all playing complementary roles.
- A college outreach program will be established to identify undergraduate students who will be good role models as well as serve as counselors and tutors in return for scholarship assistance.
- The academies can also serve as sites for the training of future teachers.

EVALUATION

- In order to be a successful alternative program, the academies must be able to accurately evaluate and report the progress of their students. Therefore, a comprehensive evaluation effort will be undertaken.

While not focusing specifically on African American males, we see the academies as a way of allowing these youngsters to express their natural talent and creativity, and to develop the confidence and competence that will permit them to provide the critical leadership required to uplift and sustain the African American community.

QEM Network staff would be very pleased to provide any additional details on residential academies the Subcommittee might desire as well as on other strategies that we recommend for improving the educational status of minority children, indeed of all children.

Chairman OWENS. Thank you.

Dr. Geneva Gay.

Dr. GAY. In the interest of time, I would like to significantly telescope the types of comments that I would like to have made, and these are up here in written testimony. So, I would like to focus more instead, rather than on the specifics, on the spirit of my recommendations.

I think that they fall within the context of, maybe, three different sort of overarching orientations. One of them is, in the sense of a reference that was made earlier in testimony, and I think that that was a quote from the Governor of Kentucky about there is something wrong with the system, not wrong with the children.

So, I think that that is one thing when we talk about research is needed, what may be happening to African-American males, particularly, and African-American students in general. Our focus of attention needs to shift significantly from what is wrong with the child to what is wrong with the school system.

In that focus, I think that would require that all research be governed by what some people in the field of multicultural education suggest, and that is a paradigmatic shift. That is, some of the kind of notions, some of the kind of canons, the beliefs that we have held about how to conduct research and what to focus on in research, may be totally inappropriate trying to locate the nature of the problem that we are trying to identify. And, most certainly, if we cannot identify it, we cannot remediate it.

I guess the third orientation is that the theoretical scholarship of multicultural education offers many different claims that need to be substantiated by empirical research. And I would hasten to add, as a parenthetical note, to me empirical research is not always quantitative. There is a tremendous amount of very powerful ethnographic data which needs to be done, and that is a methodological approach that needs to be pursued much more systematically and seriously.

Within the context of those kinds of notions, then, if we were to review the theoretical scholarship on multicultural education, cultural diversity, and education chances of African-American youngsters, there are several different directions that could be gleaned from that which might guide research. I would just like to mention some of those without any explanatory comment with them because the explanations are in the written testimony.

One of them is the premise that there may be a critical or a tip year in the grades of schooling where it makes an irreversible difference to African-American males. There are some speculations that that tip year may be third grade or fourth grade. But there is something that happens around that time in the schooling process that is fundamentally detrimental thereafter to African-American males. That needs to be very carefully explored.

A second area is the attention and the place that text materials play in the instructional process. In spite of all of the technological innovations in education delivery and information retrieval, textbooks continue to dominate as the single most instructional tool in classrooms across the country. Because of that reason, then, text need to be looked at very seriously, and how the modification of those might improve the education chances of African-American males.

Another area that needs to be looked at very seriously is the routine processes of schooling. There have been persistent claims that the essence of the quality of education occurs in the interactions between students and teachers in classrooms. That issue has not been examined very seriously as it affects diversity, and particularly African-American males, other than at the descriptive level, and that descriptive level does tell us that African-American males are most discriminated against in the interactional process.

But to merely describe that as a fact does not help us to identify why it occurs or how to respond to it. So, there needs to be much more analytical analysis of the classroom interactions to try to understand what is happening specifically, or what is not happening, with African-American males. So, that, again we can talk about target design intervention strategies.

There are some other routine areas of schooling that need to be rethought to be researched. The whole area of testing or performance appraisal is one that we visit habitually, and then we leave it alone, and we come back to it once again. But it is an issue that has not been resolved.

There are probably two related issues. First of all, is standardized testing. What are the cultural biases that it continues to perpetuate? And, simultaneously, what are some reasonable alternative performance appraisal techniques and methodologies that could be used that may be much more powerful and informative for African-American students, and African-American males particularly, that standardized testing is not able to do under its current form and administrative style.

There has recently been a tremendous amount of attention given to educational technology, yet as a potential panacea for some of the educational problems we have in schooling. But even the speculative literature and scholarship on that area has not given ample attention to what effect technology—computers, interactive videos, and things like that—may have upon the educational chances of African-American students, and males. That needs to be examined very seriously.

As some of my colleagues suggested formally, teacher education is a whole area that needs radical revision. And that revision has to be in the sense of research to more carefully diagnose what are some of the attitudes and expectations that preservice teachers take to the classroom, to the field with them, and simultaneously some development efforts to redesign teacher education so that those attitudes are changed and behavior might result that are much more constructive and positive.

So in a sense, then, I would suggest that, as we think about trying to bring some reform in this area and construct a research agenda, I think there needs to be three kinds of areas, generally. One of them: there needs to be much more longitudinal studies. There need to be a significant shift in how we understand what is the nature of research, and making some selections of research methodology, paradigms, and issues, variables, hypotheses, that are much more apropos to the African-American or Afrocentric life experience.

And then I think that we need to pursue some methodological changes in research that give more attention to ethnographic analysis. And, of course, whatever research findings we discover, should be supported, then, by a new direction in development for reform.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Geneva Gay follows:]

SEPTEMBER 27, 1990

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT EDUCATION

BY GENEVA GAY
PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION
PURDUE UNIVERSITY
WEST LAFAYETTE, INDIANA

"NEEDED RESEARCH IN THE EDUCATION OF AFRICAN AMERICANS AND OTHER CULTURALLY DIFFERENT STUDENTS"

MOST OF THE PREMISES AND CLAIMS MADE BY SCHOLARS AND RESEARCHERS ABOUT HOW CURRENT EDUCATIONAL STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES ADVERSELY AFFECT STUDENTS OF COLOR, AND THE POTENTIAL CORRECTIVE EFFECTS THAT MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION OFFERS, NEED TO BE SUBSTANTIATED BY EMPIRICIAL RESEARCH. AMONG THESE CLAIMS ARE:

--ETHNIC CONTENT IN SCHOOL CURRICULA WILL IMPROVE THE INTEREST APPEAL OF LEARNING ACTIVITIES, AND THEREFORE INCREASE THE ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT OF CULTURALLY DIFFERENT STUDENTS.

--MATCHING TEACHING STYLES WITH LEARNING STYLES IMPROVES SCHOOL PERFORMANCE.

--THE ROUTINE PROCEDURES, VALUES, STRUCTURES, AND ETHOS OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS MILITATE AGAINST EDUCATIONAL EFFECTIVENESS FOR CHILDREN OF COLOR BECAUSE THEY DENIGRATE OR IGNORE THEIR CULTURAL HERITAGES, EXPERIENCES, AND STYLES OF LEARNING.

--TEACHERS WHO ARE KNOWLEDGEABLE OF, SENSITIVE TO, AND COMPETENT IN INCORPORATING CULTURAL DIFFERENCES INTO THEIR TEACHING TECHNIQUES AND CURRICULUM CONTENT ARE MORE EFFECTIVE IN MAXIMIZING THE ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE OF CULTURALLY DIFFERENT STUDENTS THAN THOSE TEACHERS WHO DO NOT HACE THESE CAPABILITIES.

--AS A GROUP, THE LONGER CHILDREN OF COLOR STAY IN SCHOOL, THE FURTHER THEY FALL ACADEMICALLY BEHIND THEIR MIDDLE CLASS, ANGLO COUNTERPARTS.

--THERE ARE STRONG CORRELATIONS BETWEEN SELF-CONCEPTS, POSITIVE ETHNIC IDENTITY, ACADEMIC EFFORT, AND PERFORMANCE ACHIEVEMENT.

--THE INCLUSION OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION IN SCHOOL CIRRICULA HAS BOTH INTRINSIC AND INSTRUMENTAL VALUE. IT IS INTRINSIC BECAUSE OF THE NEW AND UNIQUE KNOWLEDGE AND LEARNING EXPERIENCES IT PROVIDES; IT IS INSTRUMENTAL BECAUSE IT HAS THE CAPABILITY OF ASSISTING IN THE ACHIEVEMENT OF OTHER EDUCATIONAL ENDS, SUCH AS BASIC SKILLS MASTERY, SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS, RESPONSIBLE CITIZENSHIP, AND DEVELOPING A SENSE OF COMMUNITY AMONG DIVERSE GROUPS.

--CHILDREN FROM CULTURALLY DIFFERENT BACKGROUNDS OFTEN EXPERIENCE STRESS AND ANXIETY IN SCHOOL RELATED TO THEIR DIFFERENTNESS. AS A RESULT THEY SPEND A GREAT DEAL OF TIME, ENERGY, AND EFFORT PROTECTING THEIR FRAGILE EGOS AND PSYCHES THAT MIGHT OTHERWISE BE DEVOTED TO ACADEMIC TASKS. THUS, AN INVERSE RELATIONSHIP EXISTS BETWEEN FEELINGS OF PERSONAL INSECURITY AND SOCIAL DISCOMFORT IN THE CLASSROOM, AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT. AS STRESS AND ANXIETY LEVELS RISE, ACADEMIC EFFORTS AND TASK MASTERY DECLINE.

SOME SMALL-SCALE EMPIRICAL STUDIES AND AN IMPRESSIVE AND GROWING BODY OF ETHNOGRAPHIC ANALYSES INVOLVING THE INTERACTION BETWEEN THE CULTURE AND COGNITION OF ETHNICALLY DIFFERENT ETHNIC

GROUP STUDENTS (SUCH AS AMERICANS INDIANS, NATIVE HAWAIIANS, HISPANICS, AND AFRICAN AMERICANS) ARE NOW EMERGING. THESE HAVE PROMISING POTENTIAL FOR REPLICATION ON A BROADER SCALE AND IMPROVING THE PROSPECTS OF BETTER SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT FOR LARGE NUMBERS OF AFRICAN AMERICAN STUDENTS. AMONG THEM ARE STUDIES THAT ARE EXAMINING THE EFFECTS OF COOPERATIVE LEARNING, DEVELOPMENTAL PATTERNS OF ETHNIC AND CULTURAL CONSCIOUSNESS, MATCHING CLASSROOM AND HOME COMMUNICATION STYLES, AND CHANGING THE STRUCTURAL FORMATS OF TEACHING AND LEARNING TO INCORPORATE MORE MOTION, MOVEMENT, FLEXIBILITY, AND VARIABILITY. THE RESULTS OF THESE STUDIES, ALONG WITH IMPRESSIONISTIC EVIDENCE FROM CLASSROOM TEACHERS AND PERSONAL REFLECTIONS OF INDIVIDUALS WHO SUCCEEDED IN SCHOOL, SUGGEST THAT THE CLAIMS BEING MADE ABOUT POSITIVE POTENTIALS OF INCORPORATING CULTURAL PLURALISM INTO THE CONTENT AND PROCESSES OF EDUCATION FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN AND OTHER ETHNICALLY DIFFERENT STUDENTS ARE NOT IDLE SPECULATIONS. HOWEVER, THESE EFFORTS NEED TO BE EXPANDED SIGNIFICANTLY. THIS EXPANSION SHOULD INCLUDE A MUCH GREATER QUANTITY OF STUDIES ON A MUCH BROADER SCALE; DETERMINING THE EXTENT TO WHICH FINDINGS FROM ONE POPULATION ANALYSIS ARE GENERALIZABLE TO OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS; FOCUSING INCREASINGLY ON THE IMPUT PROCESSES OF TEACHING AND LEARNING AS OPPOSED TO OUTCOME INDICATORS; AND DETAILED EXAMINATIONS OF THE EFFECTS OF SPECIFICAL INTERVENTIONS DESIGNED TO IMPROVE EDUCATION FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN, AND OTHER CULTURALLY DIFFERENT STUDENTS.

DIRECTIONS FOR SOME SPECIFIC KINDS OF RESEARCH THAT ARE NEEDED AND WOULD BE APPROPRIATE UNDER THE AUSPICES OF A INSTITUTE

FOR THE EDUCATION OF AT-RISK STUDENTS CAN BE GLEENED FROM EXISTING SCHOLARSHIP ON CULTURAL PLURALISM AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION. A REVIEW OF THIS LITERATURE SUGGESTS THAT THE FOLLOWING ISSUES AND ITEMS SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN A RESEARCH AGENDA:

--1. WHEN AND WHERE WITHIN THE K-12 SEQUENCE OF SCHOOLING DOES THE "FAILURE SYNDROME" BECOME ENTRENCHED FOR CHILDREN OF COLOR?. HOW IS THIS PATTERN AFFECTED BY GENDER AND SPECIFIC ETHNIC GROUP IDENTITY? WHAT IS IT ABOUT THE OPERATIONS OF SCHOOLING AT PARTICULAR LEVELS THAT INCREASE THE FAILURE OR SUCCESS POTENTIAL OF DIFFERENT ETHNIC, CULTURAL, RACIAL, AND SOCIAL CLASS GROUPS OF STUDENTS. THERE ARE SOME SPECULATIONS THAT THE TRANSITION FROM PRIMARY (KINDERGARTEN-3) TO UPPER ELEMENTARY (4-5) AND THE MIDDLE SCHOOL (6-8) GRADES ARE PARTICULARLY PROBLEMMATIC FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN MALES. THIRD AND/OR FOURTH GRADE MAY BE A CRITICAL"TIP YEAR" FOR THEM BETWEEN SUBSEQUENT SCHOOL SUCCESS AND FAILURE, AND THE PATTERNS ESTABLISHED IN MIDDLE SCHOOLS ARE FREQUENTLY IRREVERSIBLE. THESE PREMISES NEED TO BE CAREFULLY RESEARCHED TO (1) DETERMINE WHETHER THIS DOES, IN FACT, OCCUR; (2) DIAGNOSE WHAT IS HAPPENING IN SCHOOLING AND/OR ELSEWHERE TO CAUSE AFRICAN AMERICAN MALES (AND OTHER ETHNIC POPULATION GROUPS) TO GET ON A COURSE OF WHAT APPEARS TO BE IRREVERIBLE SCHOOL FAILURE AT DIFFERENT INTERSECTIONS IN THE GRADE SEQUENCE OF SCHOOLING; (3) IDENTIFY THE ETHNIC AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENTAL CHARACTERISTICS OF YOUTH OF COLOR (PARTICULARLY AFRICAN AMERICAN MALES) THAT ARE ESPECIALLY PROBLEMATIC FOR SUCCESSFUL SCHOOL ADJUSTMENT AND ACHIEVEMENT AND

WHEN DO THEY OCCUR; (4) DETERMINE WHAT CHANGES NEED TO BE IMPLEMENTED TO REVERSE THIS TREND; AND (4) DESCRIBE THE EFFECTS OF DIFFERENT REFORM EFFORTS AND INTERVENTION STRATEGIES.

--2. PERSISTENT CLAIMS ARE MADE THAT (1) THE QUALITY OF CLASSROOM INTERACTIONS BETWEEN STUDENTS AND TEACHERS CONSTITUTES THE HEART AND ESSENCE OF LEARNING EXPERIENCES, AND (2) OPPORTUNITIES TO ENGAGE IN CLASSROOM INTERACTIONS WITH TEACHERS ARE DISTRIBUTED ALONG CLASS, GENDER, AND ETHNIC LINES, WITH AFRICAN AMERICAN MALES BEING MOST DISADVANTAGED (IN TERMS OF FREQUENCY AND QUALITY OF PARTICIPATION). A SIGNIFICANT BODY OF RESEARCH EXISTS TO SUBSTANTIATE THESE CLAIMS, BUT SOME OF IT IS SOMEWHAT DATED, HAVING BEEN CONDUCTED IN THE EARLY TO MID-1970S. ADDITIONAL RESEARCH IS NEEDED TO UPDATED PREVIOUS FINDINGS AND TO DETERMINE IF THEY ARE STILL VALID. WHEREAS MOST OF THE FOCUS OF FORMER RESEARCH IN THIS AREA WAS PRIMARILY DESCRIPTIVE IN NATURE, FUTURE EFFORTS NEED TO BE MORE EXPLANATORY. THAT IS, CONCENTRATION SHOULD BE ON WHY DISCREPANCIES IN CLASSROOM INTERACTIONS OCCUR WITH THE INTENT OF IDENTIFYING THE REASONS BEHIND TEACHER BEHAVIORS THAT CAN GUIDE CHANGE AND REMEDIATION STRATEGIES.

--3. CURRICULUM CONTENT, TEXTBOOKS, AND READING MATERIALS ARE RECURRENT TARGETS OF CRITICAL ANALYSIS AND PROPOSALS FOR REFORMING EDUCATION. THIS IS DUE LARGELY TO THE CENTRAL ROLE THEY PLAY IN THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS. DESPITE OTHER TECHONOLOGICAL INNOVATIONS IN INFORMATION RETRIEVAL AND PROCESSING, TEXTBOOKS CONTINUE TO BE THE SINGLE MOST FREQUENTLY USED TEACHING TOOL. THEY ALSO PERSIST IN PERPETUATING A TENDENCY

ESTABLISHED YEARS AGO THAT ONE CRITIC DESCRIBED AS "GUARDIANS OF TRADITION." PART OF THAT TRADITION IS TO DOWNPLAY THE CULTURALLY PLURALISTIC NATURE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, LIFE, AND CULTURE, AND THEREBY GIVE INADEQUATE TREATMENT TO THE CENTRALITY OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF VARIOUS ETHNIC AND CULTURAL GROUPS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE AMERICAN STORY. ALTHOUGH SOME IMPROVEMENTS HAVE BEEN MADE IN THE LAST TWO DECADES OR SO TO ACHIEVE A MORE ACCURATE AND BALANCED PORTRAYAL, THE TASK HAS NOT BEEN COMPLETED. THESE TENDENCIES HAVE BEEN CAREFULLY AND REPEATED DOCUMENTED BY EMPIRICAL RESEARCH. WHAT HAS NOT BEEN RESEARCHED IS THE RELATED CLAIM ABOUT THE EFFECTS TRADITIONAL AND REVISIONIST TEXTBOOK MATERIALS HAVE ON STUDENTS' SELF- CONCEPTS AND SUBSEQUENT PERFORMANCE ACHIEVEMENT. ARGUMENTS ARE MADE THAT STUDENTS OF COLOR AND THOSE FROM POOR BACKGROUNDS FIND TEXT MATERIALS WHICH DO NOT PORTRAY THEIR OWN CULTURAL GROUPS' HISTORIES AND HERITAGES ACCURATELY IRRELEVANT AND UNINTERESTING. THIS LACK OF INTEREST APPEAL, DISTRACTS THEM FROM CONCENTRATING ON THE ACADEMIC TASKS EMBEDDED IN THE MATERIALS, WHICH, IN TURN, DIMINISHES THEIR TIME ON TASK, EFFORTS AT TASK MASTERY, AND SUBSEQUENT LEVELS OF PERFORMANCE ACHEIVEMENT. CULTURALLY RELEVANT INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS ARE SEEMED AS HAVING THE POTENTIAL FOR REVERSING THESE TRENDS, AS WELL AS HELPING MAJORITY GROUP STUDENTS DEVELOP A BETTER KNOWLEDGE OF AND RESPECT FOR SOCIAL AND CULTURAL LIFE STYLES THAT ARE NOT A PART OF THE AMERICAN MAINSTREAM. THUS, THE SPECULATIVE ARGUMENTS ABOUT THE CORRECTIVE POTENTIALITIES OF AFROCENTRIC (AND OTHER ETHNIC GROUP-CENTRIC) CURRICULA NEED TO BE EMPIRICALLY SUPPORTED. SPECIFIC CLAIMS THAT NEED TO BE EXAMINED

INCLUDE WHETHER AFROCENTRIC CURRICULUM (OR VARIOUS "CURRICULA OF MULTICULTURAL INCLUSION") WILL IMPROVE:

-- POSITIVE SELF-CONCEPTS

-- A SENSE OF AFFILIATION WITH SCHOOLS

-- ENGAGED TIME ON ACADEMIC TASKS

-- FEELINGS OF PERSONAL CONFIDENCE AND PERSONAL EMPOWERMENT OF STUDENTS OF COLOR

-- SPECIFIC SKILL MASTERY AND OVERALL ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE OF STUDENTS OF COLOR AND POVERTY

--DECREASE NEGATIVE ATTITUDES AND INCREASE RESPECT OF MAINSTREAM STUDENTS TOWARD CULTURALLY DIFFERENT GROUPS AND LIFE STYLES.

SEVERAL DIFFERENT APPROACHES (E.G., SUPPLEMENTARY, INTEGRATIVE, HEROIC MODELS, SEPARATE UNITS AND COURSES, SPECIAL EVENTS AND CRITICAL INCIDENTS, TOTAL CURRICULUM TRANSFORMATION, ETC.) EXIST FOR INCLUDING ETHNIC CONETNT IN THE SCHOOL CURRICULA. THE RELATIVE MERITS OF EACH OF THESE FOR ACHIEVING MAXIMUM SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT FOR THE GREATEST NUMBER OF STUDENTS NEED TO BE DETERMINED BY CAREFULLY DESIGNED RESEARCH STUDIES.

--4. ANOTHER RECURRENT THEME IN THEORETICAL DISCUSSIONS OF THE EDUCATIONAL CHANCES OF AFRICAN AMERICAN AND OTHER CULTURALLY DIFFERENT STUDENTS IS HOW INCONSISTENCIES BETWEEN HOME AND SCHOOL PROCEDURAL AND PERFORMANCE STYLES NEGATIVELY AFFECT ACHIEVEMENT OUTCOMES. SOME SCHOLARS EVEN ARGUE THAT SCHOOL SUCCESS OR FAILURE FOR CHILDREN OF COLOR IS MORE A FUNCTION OF THESE PROCEDURAL "DISCONSITNUITIES" OR "INCOMPATIBILITIES" THAN

INTELLECTUAL ABILITY. FOR EXAMPLE, CHILDREN MAY NOT BE DOING AS WELL ON TESTS AS THEY MIGHT, NOT BECAUSE THEY DON'T KNOW THE CONTENT BUT BECAUSE THEY DON'T KNOW HOW TO TAKE TESTS. THEY MAY NOT BE STUDYING AS MUCH AND AS WELL AS THEY MIGHT, NOT BECAUSE THEY DO NOT VALUE EDUCATION AND WANT TO LEARN, OR HAVE THE CAPABILITY TO LEARN, BUT BECAUSE THEY DO NOT KNOW HOW TO STUDY IN A WAY THAT MEETS SCHOOL EXPECTATIONS. RESEARCH IS NEEDED WHICH EXPLORES THESE AND OTHER RELATED CLAIMS SUCH AS:

--HOW ACHIEVEMENT AND PERFORMANCE ARE AFFECTED WHEN TEACHERS AND SCHOOLS USE INSTRUCTIONAL METHODS THAT ARE SIMILAR TO THE CULTURAL STYLES OF LEARNING AND PROBLEM SOLVING PROMINENT IN AFRICAN AMERICAN AND OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS' CULTURAL COMMUNITIES.

--THE EFFECTS OF TEACHING SCHOOL SURVIVAL SKILLS SUCH AS TEST TAKING, STUDY SKILLS, AND CULTURAL CODE SHIFTING WITHIN THE CONTEXT OF CULTURALLY- SPECIFIC UNDERSTANDINGS.

--THE COMPARATIVE EFFECTS OF DIFFERENT TEACHING TECHNIQUES, STRUCTURAL ARRANGEMENTS AND CLASSROOM ENVIRONMENTS ON SKILL MASTERY, SUCH AS INFORMAL VERSUS FORMAL SETTINGS; INDIVIDUALS VERSUS SMALL GROUPS AND TEAMS; COMPETITIVE VERSUS COOPERATIVE SETTINGS; RACIALLY PLURALISTIC VERSUS MONO-RACIAL ORGANIZATIONS; OPTIMUM SIZE OF GROUP FOR MAXIMUM TEACHER EFFECTIVENESS (E.G. PUPIL-TEACHER RATIOS); DISCOVERY LEARNING AND INQUIRY TEACHING VERSUS EXPOSITORY TEACHING; HETEROGENEOUS GROUPING VERSUS TRACKING; ETC.

--6. ELECTRONIC TECHNOLOGY (INTERACTIVE VIDEO, COMPUTERS, ETC.) IS THE RAVE IN EDUCATIONAL CIRCLES TODAY. CLAIMS ABOUND ABOUT ITS CAPABILITY TO FACILITATE ACADEMIC MASTERY FROM REMEDIATION OF BASIC SKILLS FOR HARD-TO-LEARN STUDENTS TO MAXIMIZING ENRICHMENT FOR THE GIFTED AND TALENTED. TO DATE, THOUGH, VIRTUALLY NO EMPIRICAL RESEARCH HAS BEEN REPORTED ABOUT HOW COMPUTERS AND OTHER HIGH-TECH INNOVATIONS CAN BE USED IN WHAT WAYS TO WHAT BENEFITS WITH CHILDREN OF COLOR TO MAKE THEIR SCHOOLING EXPERIENCES MORE MEANINGFUL AND EFFECTIVE. SOME SPECIFIC ISSUES WORTH EXPLORING ARE:

-- WILL COMPUTER USE IMPROVE THE BASIC SKILL MASTERY OF CHILDREN OF COLOR AND POVERTY?.

--HOW CAN COMPUTERS BE USED TO POSITIVELY IMPACT THE SELF CONCEPT AND SCHOOL RELEVANCE FOR SELECT GROUPS OF STUDENTS?

--WHAT KINDS OF TEACHINGS ARE DONE MORE EFFECTIVELY WITH COMPUTERS THAN HUMANS?

--7. EVALUATION METHODS AND TOOLS CONTINUE TO BE ASSAILED AS CULTURALLY BIASED IN BOTH CONTENT AND ADMINISTRATION PROCEDURES TO THE DETRIMENT OF AFRICAN AMERICANS AND OTHER STUDENTS OF COLOR (WITH THE POSSIBLE EXCEPTION OF SOME ASIAN AMERICANS). AS A RESULT THEY ARE NOT VALID OR RELIABLE MEASURES OF THESE STUDENTS' CAPABILITIES OR ACHIEVEMENTS. THUS, PROPOSALS ARE CONSTANTLY BEING MADE THAT ALTERNATIVE EVALUATION TECHNIQUES WHICH ARE MORE CULTURALLY SENSITIVE AND TESTS WHICH ARE MORE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE MULTICULTURAL REALITY OF AMERICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE BE USED TO ASSESS STUDENT PERFORMANCE. THESE CLAIMS NEED TO BE EMPIRICALLY TESTED WITH RESEARCH DESIGNED TO:

--MULTICULTURALIZE STANDARDIZED TESTS

--MODIFY TEST ADMINISTRATION PROCEDURES TO BETTER ACCOMMODATE DIFFERENT PERFORMANCE STYLES

--IDENTIFY, DEVELOP, AND VALIDATE ALTERNATIVE EVALUATION TECHNIQUES THAT ARE MOST APPROPRIATE FOR DIFFERENT STUDENT POPULATIONS

--DETERMINE THE POSITIVE EFFECTS OF THESE CHANGES ON STUDENT PERFORMANCE APPRAISAL.

--8. SINCE NOT ALL TEACHERS ARE EQUALLY AS EFFECTIVE WITH ALL KINDS OF STUDENTS, WHAT ARE THE ATTRIBUTES THAT MAKE SOME TEACHERS MORE SUCCESSFUL WITH AFRICAN AMERICANS AND OTHER GROUPS OF COLOR THAN OTHERS. SOME SCHOLARS OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY HAVE PROPOSED THAT THE ANSWER TO THIS MYSTERY MAY BE FOUND IN THE PRINCIPLES OF "COMPETENCY PLUS CARING" AND "SOCIAL DISTANCE." THAT IS, THOSE TEACHERS WHO ARE ABLE TO BRIDGE THE GAPS THAT EXIST BETWEEN LIFE IN AND OUTSIDE OF SCHOOL, AS WELL AS INTEGRATE GENUINE CARING FOR THE PERSONAL WELL-BEING OF THEIR STUDENTS WITH A HIGH LEVEL OF TECHNICAL MASTERY OF THE TEACHING CRAFT ARE THE ONES WHO WORK BEST WITH CHILDREN OF COLOR. HOW, EXACTLY, ARE THESE PERSONAL ATTRIBUTES MANIFESTED IN BEHAVIOR IS A VITAL RESEARCH QUESTION. PROGRAMS WHICH PARALLEL THE ONES WHICH NOW EXIST TO RECOGNIZE SUCCESSFUL SCHOOLS THAT ARE DESIGNED TO LOCATE AND RECOGNIZE TEACHERS WHO ARE SUCESSFUL WITH CULTURALLY DIFFERENT STUDENTS SHOULD BE INSTITUTED. A PRIORITY OBJECTIVE IN THESE EFFORTS SHOULD BE TO SPECIFY WHAT THESE TEACHERS DO IN THE PROCESS OF TEACHING THAT MAKE THEM PARTICULARLY EFFECTIVE WITH AFRICAN AMERICAN MALES AND OTHER SELECT STUDENT POPULATIONS.

THIS RESEARCH AGENDA ITEM MAY REQUIRE WIDE SPREAD ETHNOGRAPHIC STUDIES, AND THE USE OF SOPHISTICATED OBSERVATION AND INTERVIEW TECHNIQUES. THESE COULD BE SUPPORTED BY THE DEVELOPMENT OF VIDEO TAPED PROTOTYPES OF EFFECTIVE TEACHING, ACCOMPANIED WITH ANALYTICAL EXPLANATIONS OF WHAT MAKES THE TEACHING BEING VIEWED SO EFFECTIVE, AND STAFF DEVELOPMENT MODELS FOR TRAINING OTHER TEACHERS.

--9. CLOSELY RELATED TO WHAT MAKES SOME TEACHERS MORE EFFECTIVE THAN OTHERS WITH DIFFERENT ETHNIC STUDENT POPULATIONS IS THE QUESTION OF THE PROFESSIONAL PREPARATION OF TEACHERS. THERE IS CONSENSUAL AGREEMENT AMONG ADVOCATES OF MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION THAT KNOWLEDGE OF STUDENTS IS A PREREQUISITE FOR TEACHING EFFECTIVENESS. YET, THE STUDY OF CULTURAL DIVERSITY IN PRESERVICE TEACHER PREPARATION IS NEITHER SUSTAINED NOR SYSTEMATIC. THIS LEADS TO THE PREMISE THAT TOO MANY TEACHERS ENTER THE PROFESSION WITH DEBILITATING NEGATIVE ATTITUDES, EXPECTATIONS, TIMIDITY, AND EVEN FEAR ABOUT WORKING WITH ETHNICALLY DIFFERENT STUDENTS AND MATERIALS. SINCE ATTITUDES HAVE A DIRECT BEARING UPON BEHAVIORS, MANY TEACHERS MAY BE CREATING SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECIES OF FAILURE FOR CHILDREN OF COLOR BY UNDERESTIMATING AND UNDERSERVING THEIR LEARNING NEEDS AND CAPABILITIES. THESE CLAIMS LEAD TO TWO AREAS OF NEEDED RESEARCH IN TEACHER EDUCATION:

--WHAT ARE THE ATTITUDES AND EXPECTATIONS OF PRESERVICE TEACHERS TOWARD CULTURALLY DIFFERENT STUDENTS, HOW ARE THESE TRANSLATED INTO CLASSROOM BEHAVIORS, AND HOW DO THESE BEHAVIORS AFFECT STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT.

--WHAT ARE THE EFFECTS OF CAREFULLY DESIGNED TEACHER EDUCATION PROGRAMS IN CULTURAL DIVERSITY ON TEACHERS' ATTITUDES AND EXPECTATIONS, INSTRUCTIONAL BEHAVIORS, AND THE SUBSEQUENT ACADEMIC PERFORMANCE OF DIFFERENT GROUPS OF STUDENTS.

BOTH OF THESE RESEARCH AREAS WILL REQUIRE LONGITUDINAL STUDIES, AND SOME SYSTEMATIC DEVELOPMENT ACTIVITIES TO REFORM TEACHER EDUCATION IN DIRECTIONS THAT MAY BE CONTRADICTORY TO THOSE THAT ARE CURRENTLY IN VOGUE.

WHATEVER THE SPECIFIC RESEARCH ISSUES AND QUESTIONS THAT ARE EXAMINED IN AN EFFORT TO IMPROVE THE EDUCATION OF CULTURALLY DIFFERENT STUDENTS, INCLUDING SPECIFICALLY AFRICAN AMERICAN MALES, THE OVERALL FOCUS SHOULD SHIFT SIGNIFICANTLY FROM THE TENDENCY IN A LOT OF PREVIOUS EFFORTS TO CONCENTRATE ON DESCRIPITIVE ANALYSES. FUTURE STUDIES SHOULD EMPHASIZE THE EFFECTS OF NEW INTERVENTIONS, ACTION AND LOCAL SITE-BASED INVESTIGATIONS, PILOT STUDIES, MODEL REFORM SITES, AND THE REASONS WHY REFORM STRATEGIES SUCCEED OR FAIL.

Chairman **Owens**. Thank you.

Dr. Barbara Holmes.

STATEMENTS OF DR. BARBARA HOLMES, DIRECTOR, EDUCATION COMMISSION OF THE STATES; AND DR. HENRY FRIERSON, JR., OFFICE OF EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL

Dr. **Holmes**. Good afternoon, and thank you very much for allowing me to come and testify to this esteemed committee. I am very pleased to be with you today. I will abbreviate my remarks. Some of these things have been mentioned in my testimony, and I will be happy to elaborate with further information if you are willing to receive it.

I can only say initially that I concur wholeheartedly with the comments of my esteemed colleagues. So much of our testimony, although unknown one to the other, prior to today, has been complementary, has expanded, has elaborated many of the same points.

The point that I would particularly like to emphasize has just been brought up by my colleague to my left, Dr. Gay. The design of teacher education—and let us try to change the language to teacher development and preparation—has got to reflect a new world.

Schools, as we currently know them, have been designed to sort, to maintain a small elite class in a country heavily dependent on agriculture as a means of economic survival and growth, then going into an industrial model that once again did not require high levels of ability and acquisition of skills and competencies. Schools have therefore supported that model. That simply must change. The world has changed and our schools have not.

To give you a very brief review of the current situation as it pertains to teachers: Teachers are the vessel through which the process of formal education occurs. To the degree that those teachers are not prepared and developed to reflect the actual values and world norms, and the norms of our own democratic society, then they will fail. And I think we see that reflected in our dilemma that was spoken about so eloquently by Dr. Oliver, but particularly crystallized in the complexion now of the criminal justice system.

The rapid shifts facing the Nation will not be short term. They are only going to become exacerbated. By the year 2000, minority students are projected to make up 39 percent of the school age population. Already half or more of the public school students in 25 of the Nation's largest cities are members of so-called minority groups.

A society that reflects the full participation of all of its citizens will be difficult to accomplish if only one in 20 teachers is a member of one of those "so-called minority groups." At this rate, at the rate of this differential here in the teaching force and the population of students, the average child will have only two minority teachers, out of about 40, during his or her pre-K through 12 school years.

In a democratic society, both minority and majority teachers serve as role models for all students. Schooling provides the earliest near daily exposure of all children to life outside their homes. Therefore, a diverse teaching force allows all students to see and understand people who come from backgrounds different from their own, and to see people of different cultures in positions of leadership and authority. Therefore, Omaha does need just as much of a multicultural curriculum as does Jackson, Mississippi, or El Paso, Texas.

If we are to continue to hold and be a functioning democratic society, we've got to be able to involve all of our students. Our schooling system, I would charge, has created an underclass. It has created an underclass by limiting full participation, by limiting the acquisition of skills and competencies that allow one to pursue a quality life in America.

While it is true that poverty and self-esteem are related, the issue really is that education is your means, traditionally, in America to relieve one's self, if one wishes, from poverty. Traditionally, African-Americans, more so than any other ethnic group in this country, have used the means of education and have viewed it that way.

The 1954 Brown versus Board of Topeka decision, while appearing efficacious at that point in time, was implemented in such a way as to dismantle a functioning system. Not that it was a perfect system. It was certainly lacking in resources and facilities, laboratories, all of those kinds of technological advances that were apparently somewhat in the other system. But the implementation dismantled that system.

It did not integrate the white and the black system. Therefore, a number of the most beneficial aspects of that system have been lost. The rise of a black middle class occurred under that system. The demise of a black middle class is occurring in the present system. It must be transformed. A rise of a black underclass, instead, is occurring.

Let's talk for a moment about the dilemma of the urban school. The urban school is the particular crucible in which we see played out some of the malfunctions and contradictions in our education system at the moment. I sometimes think of them as a Gordian knot. We don't know where to start to untie it, to loose it.

We know that disproportionate numbers of poor, disadvantaged students, who in turn are also disproportionately members of underrepresented groups, like African-Americans, attend urban schools. So we have two factors here. Research indicates that teachers tend to return to schools similar to the communities in which they themselves grew up or attended. It seems to be the kind of thing one tends to do. So the children in an urban school, the neighborhood, the building, per se, are not the things that create the tension for this teacher who returns to the urban school. It is something else. What is it?

We know that they tend to leave the urban school, if they possibly can, after three to five years, and try to seek employment or replacement or reassignment. We know that that occurs, from various research sources.

But when they are interviewed and questioned about this, what do they say? They say, we left because we couldn't have the kind of staff development and support and the continuing education opportunities that we needed to enable us to work more effectively with our students. It is not that we didn't like or, indeed, love our students. We did not get the kind of support that we needed.

Therefore, we need local district and school type policies that reward teachers and give them those opportunities that they need. They are often seeking continued growth and development.

However, another issue that I think the committee should be very much aware of: In local districts there is a growing practice of limiting the numbers of minority teachers in certain schools, particularly those in urban areas. I might tell you that there is a very severe problem of this invisible limit. Only three persons of color per building.

We have another set of problems around tenure; being asked to retire. A number of assignment and location problems at the local district level. And states have some role to play in that, and should be cautioned about those roles.

At the same time, when there are few minority teachers in any school, the disproportionate responsibility for the success of all minority students in the school might rest just with those two to three teachers. The whole idea of the responsibility for minority success must be a part of the responsibility and commitment of the entire school, not just a certain small number.

Let me tell you for a moment how we know teachers do things——

Chairman OWENS. Excuse me, Dr. Holmes. We are going to have to recess for a few minutes. I have to go to vote. Mr. Payne will resume as soon as he comes back. We are trying to stagger it so we didn't have to interrupt you.

Dr. HOLMES. Oh, I'm sorry.

Chairman OWENS. Just for a few minutes.

Dr. HOLMES. Okay, sure.

[Recess.]

Dr. HOLMES. Should we resume? All right.

I wanted to just remark on a few of the behaviors that we have observed that teachers engage in with kids. They are on page 2 of the presentation. They simply have a way of interrupting students when they are attempting to speak. They correct them in ways that impede their participation. They communicate hostility by tone and those kinds of things.

I have several recommendations, and I will be very quick with those. One of things that an institute might do, and might encourage broadening: During the eighties, OERI tended not to report a lot of data that was in fact gathered, because we know it was gathered. We are now getting bulletins saying various race ethnic data are available. But we have got to be sure we have complete, accurate information. And that means analyses and reporting of all data so the trends can be quickly ascertained.

The Federal Government can in fact do that, and it should be one of its major roles. At the same time, there can be funds for teacher preparation and development. One avenue for doing that might be encouraging collaboration between black and white colleges, in states where both exist, to engage in collaboration around faculty exchanges, student concurrent course enrollments, and those kinds of things.

My main recommendation, if you could do one thing, I would like to see Centers of Excellence for the Preparation of Teachers developed, especially at HBCUs where there has been a history of understanding how to develop teachers. I think those centers can be collaboratively run, and that they should be rewarded and recognized, and they should prepare majority and minority teachers.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Barbara J. Holmes follows:]

Testimony at Subcommittee on Select Education
on Institute for the Education of At-Risk Students
September 27, 1990

Barbara J. Holmes
Director of Policy Studies
Education Commission of the States

Why African American Teachers Are Essential

Good morning, Mr. Chairman and members of the Committee. My name is Barbara J. Holmes. I am a director of policy studies at the Education Commission of the States, a non-profit, education service organization for its constituency of 49 member states and the American Territories.

I consider it a privilege to give testimony to the Subcommittee on Select Education on the Institute for the Education of At-Risk Youth. The following testimony focuses upon the need for teachers who are members of underrepresented minority groups - particularly those who are African-American, Hispanic and Native American. This testimony reflects my views as a scholar and researcher and not necessarily those of my employers or associates.

Overview of the Issue

In 1987, only 10% of teachers were members of a minority group[1], compared to 20% of school-age children. By the end of the century, only 5% of teachers are expected to be minority, while one-third of the students will be. The nation's teaching force is becoming increasingly white, while its minority student population is burgeoning.

The rapid shifts changing the face of the nation will not be short term. By 2020, minority students are projected to make up 39% of the school-age population. Already, half or more of the public school students in 25 of the nation's largest cities are members of minority groups. A society that reflects the full participation of all its citizens will be difficult to accomplish if only one in 20 teachers is a member of a minority group. At this rate, the average child will have only two minority teachers - out of about 40 - during his or her K-12 school years.

In our democratic society, both minority and majority teachers serve as role models for all students, helping them understand early habits. Because schooling provides the earliest near-daily exposure of children to life outside their homes, a diverse teaching force allows all students to understand people who come from backgrounds different from their own and to see persons of different cultures in leadership positions.

A teaching force unbalanced in its representation of the nation's population is inappropriate at best and has profound implications for the country. The United States cannot have a functioning democracy without respect for and involvement of all of its citizens. It cannot afford to be class-oriented, while other countries move toward a more democratic way of life. To do so would be to deny the contributions of many American citizens and an even greater number of the world's citizens.

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[1] Minority is used to refer to African Americans and to other groups who are underrepresented in the nation's education work force even as their number is growing in public schools at a rate faster than that of white children.

The dilemma of urban schools

According to a recent ABC\ECS poll, most people in our country believe that all children can learn. And yet, too many people -- too many policymakers, school administrators, teachers and parents -- assume that some children lack a capacity to learn. Too often, people behave toward children, consciously or unconsciously, directly or indirectly, in ways that undermine children's self-confidence. Too often a self-fulfilling pattern develops wherein children indeed do not learn fully or appropriately. They are not learning the norms, values and symbolic systems of the society; nor do they learn how to contribute to and participate effectively in their communities. In short, they are not learning how to use their minds well. Maximum learning is thought to be the purview of only a few, and full participation thus has become the purview of only a few.

Disproportionate numbers of poor, disadvantaged students, who in turn, are disproportionately members of underrepresented groups, attend urban schools. Research indicates that teachers tend to return to schools similar to the communities in which they grew up. So the children, the building and neighborhood per se are not a surprise nor are they viewed negatively by teachers assigned to urban schools. Yet, there is evidence that teachers tend to leave urban schools, within three to five years. When interviewed, often these teachers say they left the teaching profession because of lack of staff support and development opportunities for pursuing their ideas and innovations with their student charges. This suggests the need for policies that reward teachers, with opportunities for continued growth and development in their professions.

Moreover, in some local districts there is a practice of setting "invisible limits" on numbers of minority teachers and staff assigned to particular schools. Total responsibility for the achievement of minority students is often assigned to that small group and will often entail "extra duties" to be conducted on the teacher's personal time. The success of minority students, as well as that of all students, should be a responsibility and commitment for the entire school.

Teachers who are well-intentioned and decent people too often engage in behaviors, which over time, erode children's self-confidence and self-esteem:

- limiting class participation among students by seldom calling upon some and by ignoring their voluntary attempts to speak

- interrupting students when they attempt to speak and correcting them in ways that impede their participation

- communicating hostility to students by tone and nonverbal messages

- giving infrequent praise, seating students away from the centers of classroom activity and treating students as part of a group ("one of those") rather than as individuals.

Majority and minority teachers may unconsciously engage in these behaviors. Race/ethnic differences do not appear to be the variable that influences interaction between students and teachers. Socio-economic status does appear to matter.

Somehow, we must provide teachers, administrators and all school personnel with strategies and techniques designed to include all children.

Recommendations

All policy levels - federal, state and local - have roles to play in resolving the current education crises in our nation. It is essential to underscore the connection between the insufficient numbers of minority faculty higher education and the shortage of minority teachers in public schools.

- Policy is too often formulated in the absence of complete data and information. The federal government should collect appropriate data and perform complete analyses so that trends can be ascertained quickly. Data analyses and findings must be reported regularly.

- States should be encouraged to view the education delivery process as "all one system" and with local districts for whom they prepare teachers. We must provide teachers, administrators and all school personnel with strategies and techniques designed to maximize learning for all students.

- State should identify successful strategies for developing and preparing their own teachers. Needed are state and institutional policies that do not exclude so many people in the quest for quality; that minimize competition for the same set of scarce resources; and that value equity and diversity.

- Incentives to maximize collaboration should be used as a strategy for developing teachers in those states having predominately white and predominately African-American institutions. For example, **Centers of Excellence for the Preparation of Teachers** might be established through a combination of federal and state funds at HBCU's with excellent reputations for supporting the professional development of its teacher candidates. With appropriate incentives such as resources and recognition, certain institutions could have as an objective the preparation and development of majority and minority teachers within those states.

- Faculty could be installed as a short-term means to alleviate the shortages of minority faculty in higher education. Concurrent course enrollments can be used when there are faculty shortages in particular disciplines for students in predominantly white and black institutions within the same cities and locales.

Conclusion

Formal, public education is a process through which people are melded into the traditions of their country, learn about common values, attitudes and norms, and gain mutual respect for each other. Public education in America must continue to be the source of shared experiences and common understandings.

The consequences of a continued shortage of minority teachers are frightening. Too many minority youngsters lack sufficient academic preparation to enter college or find gainful employment. They are often disproportionately represented in low-ability classes and in the ranks of students at risk of failure, not only in school but also as adults. Minorities' knowledge of the contributions of their own ethnic and racial groups is often scant, and too many members of minority groups are possessed by a growing doubt that higher education will result in employment or a changed life.

Mr. **Payne**. From our final panelist, Dr.—and I can't see your last name.

Dr. **Frierson**. Frierson.

Mr. **Payne**. Oh, okay, from North Carolina.

Dr. **Frierson**. Thank you, Mr. Payne, and I also thank the subcommittee for inviting me to present testimony on the need for African-American educational researchers and faculty. This is somewhat of a departure from the main thrust. However, the participation of more black researchers, educational researchers, can certainly have an effect on the main issue of today's testimonies that we heard.

Drs. Simmons and Grady mentioned the importance of research and development in addressing many of the problems discussed earlier. And also Dr. Banks is certainly an example of why more black researchers are needed to address or refute the often damaging studies that occur so often.

By the year 2000, minority groups will represent a majority of elementary and secondary student populations in over 50 major cities. Dr. Holmes referred to this earlier. In actuality, I think she has mentioned there are 25 to date. In ten years there are going to be another 25 or more. These students will undoubtedly be the subjects in numerous, and possibly the majority of, future research studies. Thus the need for individuals in educational research and development who are sensitive to the needs of ethnic minorities is clearly urgent.

Looking at numerical status of black doctorates and faculty, black educational researchers, because of their experiences and backgrounds, are more likely to be interested in addressing issues related to or affecting minorities, unfortunately.

Since 1975, the number and percentage of African-American recipients of doctorates in education have declined. The percentage of black doctoral recipients in education was over nine percent in 1975, but only seven percent in 1986. This foreboding trend reflects the diminished production and contribution of black faculty in educational research and development.

As a further indication of that downward trend, in 1976 almost 700, or 691 blacks received doctorates in education. But only 389—it is a 44 percent decrease—received the degree in 1989.

Although the number of blacks with doctorates in education is small, the number of those who are actually involved in research and development is significantly smaller. For example, looking at the American Educational Research Association, out of the 16,000 members it is estimated that less than 600, or less than four percent, are black. And not all of those individuals hold doctorates. Thus, the simple numerical demand for blacks in educational research and development is just as critical as it is in other fields, and the social need, however, may even be greater.

The presence of black academicians involved in research and development is important for many reasons. Four critical ones: one, the advancement of scholarship in general as well as a research focus on minorities. Two, to provide the needed and necessary support for black and other minority colleagues. Three, to increase the number of black scholars in the field. And, four, through research and development efforts, to have a significant effect on policy and programs that may enhance student educational attainment and academic development, i.e., we are talking about—if we want to speak of black males in particular—this certainly would fall under that rubric.

I want to mention a few recommendations that may represent some major forces of action that should have the effect of increasing the number of black faculty and also enhancing their professional development.

At the undergraduate level, early identification programs to orient black undergraduate students to educational research, should be conducted. This could be done by involving the students in research projects, to expose them to research methods, and to develop and nurture the interest in research; and, importantly, to encourage them to pursue academic careers.

There should be educational research training programs for undergraduates that are similar to those that are rapidly proliferating in the sciences. Under such programs, students can participate in research projects under a faculty mentor or preceptor during the summer, receive stipends and support for room and board, and research activities could also go on during the academic year as well.

There should be proactive efforts to identify and encourage black undergraduates with potential for graduate school or graduate studies, to enroll in doctoral programs. Those students should be provided with experiences and encouragement that will promote and reinforce the desire to embark on academic careers.

As education is multidisciplinary, African-American undergraduates should be recruited from all disciplines to participate in educational research with the goal of encouraging them to enter graduate studies.

New Ph.D.s should be provided postdoctorate fellowships to develop or expand their initial research and to begin a research track record that will give them a good start toward establishing a foundation for professional advancement.

At major research institutions, research and publications are considered to be of primary import necessary for professional advancement; i.e., promotion, tenure, and so forth. Young black faculty, as well as young faculty in general, should be provided support in developing research projects in the area of interest.

In a recent study, it was reported that less than 40 percent of black doctoral students have teaching and research assistantships compared to 60 percent or more for white students. Given this discrepancy, and the fact that graduate research assistantships can be critical in the development of skills needed to advance successfully in academia, there should be support for substantial increase in the number of research assistantships for black doctoral students. This would ensure that these students will have increased opportunities to gain valuable research experiences.

In addition to those points, the Regional Educational Laboratories could also play a role in increasing the numbers of black educational researchers. In discussions with Dr. Ethel Simon-McWilliams, the associate director of the Northwestern Regional Laboratory, and also the task force chairman of the Trade Association for the Educational Labs, it became obvious that collaborations between the labs and universities could be quite productive for increasing the number of black educational researchers.

Some examples of those collaborations are site-based summer research internships for undergraduates, research fellowships for graduate students, postdoctoral research fellowships, collaborative research opportunities for faculty, opportunities for sabbatical leaves, and for faculty to conduct research in the labs.

The continued loss of potential scholars is staggering, and we would be remiss unless serious attempts are mounted to not only reverse the decline in black doctorates, but to substantially increase their production and the subsequent development of African-American researchers. If this does not occur, the crisis will continue, and it will be to the severe detriment of the Nation.

Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Henry Frierson, Jr., follows:]

THE NEED FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCHERS AND FACULTY

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THE NEED FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCHERS AND FACULTY

PRESENTATION BEFORE THE CONGRESSIONAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON SELECT EDUCATION

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The numbers and proportions of African Americans gaining Ph.D.s and entering academe has been continuously declining. This decrease is seen in all fields including education, and particularly educational research. This situation warrants considerable concern by those who are interested in the common good for American education. This concern demands to be addressed forthrightly if significant inroads are to be made to increase the numbers of Black educational researchers and faculty.

By the year 2000, minority groups will represent a majority of elementary and secondary schools' student populations in over 50 major cities. These students will undoubtedly be the subjects in numerous (and possibly the majority of) future research studies. The need for more individuals in educational research and development who are sensitive to the needs of ethnic minorities and the disadvantaged is clearly urgent.

THE NUMERICAL STATUS OF BLACK DOCTORATES AND FACULTY

Black educational researchers, because of their experiences and backgrounds, are more likely to be interested in addressing issues related to or affecting minorities and the disadvantaged. Unfortunately, since 1975 the number and percentage of African American recipients of doctorates in education, have declined. The percentage of Black doctoral recipients in education was 9.2% in 1975, but only 7.0% in 1986 (National Research Council, 1976; 1987). This foreboding trend reflects the diminished production and contribution of Black faculty in educational research and development.

As an indication of that downward trend, in 1976, 691 Blacks received doctorate degrees in education but only 389--a 44% decrease--received the degree in 1989 (National Research Council, 1990). In 1985, the percentage of Black full-time faculty in all fields was only 4.0%, down from 4.4% in 1977 (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1985). Further, approximately half of all Black faculty are at Black colleges. Thus, the percentage of Black faculty at major doctoral granting research universities in all fields, including education, is minuscule. Moreover, the American Council on Education (1988) reported that between 1977 and 1983, the number of Black full-time faculty dropped from 19,674 to 18,827, while the number of White faculty increased five percent to 473,787. Additionally, based on National Research Council data, the number of Black doctorate recipients went from a high of 1116 in 1977 to a low of 767 in 1987. In 1989, the National Research Council (1990) reported that the number of Blacks receiving

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doctorates was only 811. If this trend continues unabated, it portends an even dimmer future for Blacks in academia.

Though the number of Blacks with doctorates in education is small, the number of those who are actually in research and development is significantly smaller. For example, of the 15,888 members of the American Educational Research Association, it is estimated that about 570 (less than four percent) are Black, and not all those individuals hold doctorates. (Information gained from telephone conversations with AERA representatives.) Thus, the simple numerical demand for Blacks in educational research and development is just as critical as in other fields. The social need, however, may be even greater.

An aside, but quite significant, is the fact that in 1986, Black men represented 39% of the total Black Ph.D. recipients. That proportion compared inversely to the 60% for White male to White women Ph.D. recipients. In education, the male-female ratio for Black Ph.D. recipients is 1:2. White women Ph.D. recipients in education also outnumber White men, but the ratio is a more evenly distributed 4.5:5.5. Significantly, however, the proportion of White male education faculty is substantially greater than that for White women.

THE IMPORTANCE FOR INCREASING THE NUMBER OF BLACK EDUCATIONAL RESEARCHERS

The presence of Black academicians involved in research and development is important for many reasons, but four critical ones are: 1) the advancement of scholarship in general as well as a research focus on minorities and the disadvantaged; 2) to provide the needed and necessary support for Black and other minority colleagues; 3) to increase the number of Black scholars in the field; and 4) through research and development efforts, to have a significant effect on policy and programs that may enhance students' educational attainment and academic development.

As Black researchers are more likely to dutifully address issues and problems that acutely affect minorities and the disadvantaged, activities to promote and ensure the continued professional development of Black academicians are critical. Research by productive Black academicians may contribute significantly to the scholarly studies of such issues as: the impact of test-bias on minority students' standardized test performances; the use of differential admission criteria as factors for admission policies; the identification of critical variables for effectively teaching children; Afrocentric theory and its use to promote improved educational opportunities and academic achievement for Black students; a focus instead of upon the negative aspects of young Black males but upon the vast array who never get into trouble and the exploration of ways to enhance and maintain their productivity; examining the construct of cognitive style and its use in developing instructional procedures that are effective for Black children; varying perspectives in the examination of the validity of standardized tests in assessing academic potential; and the development and examination of intervention methods that enhance achievement.

With the country's need for future scientists, engineers, and others in high technological fields, being of critical proportions, it is vital that more Black and other underrepresented minority students have real educational opportunities that will allow them to successfully enter those fields. More Blacks involved in research and development and focusing on identifying variables that enhance and promote academic success in students can affect the chances of students receiving substantially improved education.

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

Despite overall critical need for Black faculty in educational research and development, their predicament is quite serious and probably more so than is generally realized. Given the current state, Black participation is likely to remain low unless vigorous action to address the problems is undertaken.

Although their numbers are low, Black faculty as a group can to a large extent significantly affect their collective destiny. Additionally, all key individuals at predominantly White institutions who hire or seek to hire Black faculty should be conscious of the environment that will be presented to Black faculty, and there are steps that should be taken to ensure that the participation of Black faculty at those institutions will be worthwhile. Institutions that bring Black faculty to departments or schools where none are present or the numbers are negligible, should forthrightly acknowledge the possibility that those individuals are unlikely to be fully welcomed by their colleagues and hence will may not be accorded the collegial amenities that most new faculty would expect. In other words, it is unrealistic for institutions to assume that Black faculty will be treated "just like any other faculty member." In many academic situations, such assumptions are quite fallacious. Those facts should not be ignored. Listed below are 12 points that represent some major courses of actions that should have the effect of increasing the number of Black faculty and enhancing professional development.

1. At the undergraduate level, early identification programs to orient Black undergraduate students to educational research should be conducted (Frierson, 1981). This could be done by involving the students in research projects to expose them to research methods and to develop and nurture their interest in research, and, importantly, to encourage them to pursue academic careers. There should be educational research training programs for undergraduates that are similar to those rapidly proliferating in the sciences. Under such programs, students can participate in research projects under a faculty preceptor during the summers and receive stipends and support for room and board. Research activities could also go on during the academic year as well.
2. There should be active efforts to identify and encourage Black undergraduates with potential for graduate school to enroll in doctoral programs. Those students should be provided with experiences and encouragement that will promote and reinforce

the desire to embark on academic careers.

3. As education is a multidisciplinary, African American undergraduates should be recruited from all disciplines to participate in educational research training with the goal of encouraging them to enter graduate studies in education.
4. Black doctoral students should be encouraged to obtain as much research experience as possible. They should be provided the opportunity to immerse themselves in research. Faculty can play a major role by making every effort to see that Black graduate students receive ample research experiences either by allowing the student to be involved with their research or urging other faculty to allow and encourage the students to participate meaningfully in ongoing research projects.
5. The presence of racism in predominantly White institutions should be acknowledged as a realty and should be forthrightly addressed when it is raised as an issue. In other words, when evidence of racism occurs, it should not be ignored but the source should be identified and efforts should be made to reduce or eliminate the damage that is certain to be a result. Further, individuals of influence at those institutions should acknowledge the psychic costs that Black faculty often pay for being in those environments, and thus suppress the attitude that Black faculty should feel fortunate that they are on those particular campuses.
6. Given the isolation that many Black faculty often experience at predominantly White higher education institutions, sincere efforts should be made at the outset to ensure that Black faculty will have opportunities for professional growth and development. Institutions bringing young Black faculty into departments where they are likely to be isolated, should make every effort to ensure that from the beginning those faculty have support for scholarly activities that will promote their professional advancement. Support could be in the form of research assistants, funds for research, or active assistance in securing external funding. Institutions where research is emphasized should provide ample opportunities for research leaves, and young Black faculty should be strongly encouraged to take leaves for research and development purposes.
7. New Ph.D.s should be encouraged to seriously consider postdoctorate fellowships to develop or expand their initial research and begin a publication track record that will give them a good start toward establishing a foundation to facilitate professional advancement.
8. At major research universities, research and publication are considered to be of primary import necessary for professional advancement. Young Black faculty as well as young faculty in general should be provided assistance in developing research projects in their areas of interest.
9. It was reported that less than 40% of Black doctoral students have teaching and research assistantships compared to more than 60% for White students (Educational Testing Service, 1988). Given this discrepancy and the fact that graduate

research assistantships can be critical in the development of skills needed to advance successfully in academe, there should be support for a substantial increase in the number of research assistantships for Black doctoral students. This would ensure that those students will have increased opportunities to gain valuable research experiences.

10. Sincere efforts should be made to promote professional growth and development. Nonscholarship demands on Black faculty should be kept minimal and those activities in which Black faculty are requested to participate should often have potential for promoting professional growth, for example, serving on or chairing panels or commissions that will bring about greater professional visibility.
11. Concerning tenure and promotion decisions, those involved in the decision making process should be clearly aware of and acknowledge the extra burden and demands often placed on Black faculty. The additional activities should be given credence and professional rewards should be granted accordingly.
12. Finally, a number of units in higher education need to transcend the mentality that one (Black or some other minority) is enough, and make efforts to establish numbers where there is at least some semblance of representation. A "critical mass" (of minority researchers) is often important for those researchers and to the institution as well.

In an addition to the above points, the Regional Educational Laboratories (RELs) could play a role in increasing the number of Black educational researchers. In discussions with Dr. Ethel Simon-McWilliams, the executive director of the Northwestern Regional Educational Laboratory and the Task Force Chairperson of the Trade Association for the Regional Educational Laboratories, it became obvious that collaboratios between the RELs and educational institutions could be quite productive for increasing the number of Black educational researchers. Although much of the RELs research activities are site based, this should prove attractive to those being introduced to educational research or who have an interest in applied or practical research. A number of arrangments with RELs could be arranged. Some examples are: 1) site based summer research internships for undergraduates; 2) research fellowships for graduate students; 3) postdoctoral research fellowships; 4) collaborative research opportunities for faculty; and 5) opportunities for sabbatical and leaves for facullty to conduct research at the RELs. The RELs could be significant partners in producing a cadre of minority researchers who could conduct "site-based action research" and who would also have positive effects on policies to address educational concerns.

An academic career in educational research and development can be quite rewarding, and under equitable circumstances, very attractive to African Americans and other minorities. Despite the obstacles, Blacks should be encouraged to enter this potentially rewarding and fulfilling field. This is particularly significant given the increasing need for future academicians and the tremendous contributions Black researchers can make. The continued loss of potential scholars is staggering, and the academic community will be remiss unless serious attempts are mounted to not only reverse the decline in Black doctorates, to but substantially increase their production and the subsequent development of African American researchers. If this does not occur, the crisis will continue, and it will be to the severe detriment of our nation.

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Mr. **Payne**. I would like to thank all of you for that very important and interesting testimony. Unfortunately, I missed most of it, and our chairman will be back in a moment.

I might begin by asking Dr. Hawkins, whom I did hear, what is your overall opinion, as we were talking about youngsters being ineligible for extracurricular activities, sports in particular, but other activities? What is your opinion of Proposition 48, and then, of course, the more devastating Proposition 42? Do you feel that it is having an impact on the number of minority athletes being able to get into higher education?

Dr. **Hawkins**. There is a mixed answer to that, Mr. Payne. One, your first question: I am clear that keeping students away from sport, because of their grades, kind of perverse the system. The purpose in high school is to draw young people in. At the college, university level somewhere else, maybe that's a good idea.

I think there are a number of models that people use across the country where they find people who are not doing well, they don't—Texas takes them off for six weeks. That's far too much, because the kids don't come back. That's what Mr. Josephs told us.

There are models that say if you are not doing well, you can still go to practice, but you have to go to tutoring, and then you can come back as soon as your grades are up. That's a more humane way, because sport should be included in bringing people in, not popping them out.

Proposition 48 is a left and a right. Let me just quickly put that down that Proposition 48 says that students can't play if they don't have a certain grade point average in eleven specific subjects. And if they don't have even 18 on an ACT test or 700 on the SAT. And testing is where everybody goes crazy because that is where our kids fall down the most. The average test score for black students in this country is, I think, far less than 18. And of course the average SAT is far less than 700.

So, there are a good deal of questions about the properness of having a test score making a determination. My view, of course, is, it doesn't matter. It is what we have to deal with, so we have to deal with it and try to help people along.

Proposition 42 came along and said that you couldn't have a partial qualifier, because there was a bend in Proposition 48 that said if you are a partial qualifier, if you missed a test but had a 2.0, you could still be in the college, you could still receive a scholarship, although you had to give up one year's eligibility and you couldn't play. Proposition 42 said, no soap. You either get it all or you get nothing.

Well, the hue and cry went on and on until we are now at Proposal 26 which says, in effect, that you can get help but you have to get it through regular financial aid systems. My own view is that it was on the part of ethnic directors who didn't want to pay for kids who didn't play. I don't think it had anything to do with the hue and cry about being unfair and racist. I think they just got their way. So, now, a kid that sits out that first year is paid for by someone else.

The one thing, though, that has occurred, based on Proposition 48, is that if you read the paper, they will tell you the numbers of people that have qualified and the numbers of people who haven't qualified.

The problem, I think, that is raised by that issue is that it is a newspaper issue. It does not have to do with the thousands upon thousands of young people who are influenced by Proposition 48 because in the ninth grade, coaches are beginning to tell, as I tell the ninth graders on my team, you have to prepare for Proposition 48. You have to take the correct courses. You have to do this, and that, and the other.

In most large cities—Chicago produces its share of blue chippers, but we might produce ten in the whole city in a given year, and the only information we will get is on those ten blue chippers along with the ten from other cities. I maintain that Proposition 48 has a very positive effect on those ninth graders. It is getting down now to the eighth graders, and in that sense it makes sense. It is a dumb rule, but it does a good thing for reasons it never was intended to operate. I think that's it.

Chairman OWENS. Dr. Frierson, I am sorry I didn't hear your testimony, but I do have your written testimony here.

I would like to again thank all of the panelists. We have some first rate educators and researchers that we certainly can rely on as we go forward in trying to institutionalize in a way which will allow Federal dollars to have an impact on this problem. As I said before, there is a whole lot of heat being generated around the problem, but there is too little light being shed on it.

You are invited to join us this afternoon at the Washington Hilton Hotel in the Military Room from 2:30 to 5:30 when you will hear some additional testimony, not in the formal setting of a hearing, but lay leadership expressing their sentiments. In many cases their sentiments are out there in the public domain to a much greater degree than your expert wisdom is, and we want to sort of bring those two together and try to have a happy productive merger.

Specifically, I would like to ask just a few questions, Dr. McBay, and I apologize if it appears sometimes I have been staring at you, because it's a throwback from the past. The year I graduated from Morehouse College, I think you married the head of the Chemistry Department——

Dr. MCBAY. That's right.

Chairman OWENS. [continuing] and I just kept putting that together. You are the same Shirley McBay?

Dr. MCBAY. That was only five years ago; right?

Chairman OWENS. The residential academies, I just didn't get clear—by "residential" you mean a boarding school type situation, or do you mean they live at home in their own residence?

Dr. MCBAY. No, no. You could actually have it both ways. You can have a commuting academy where the students actually return to their homes at the end of a school day, or you can have—which is what I was describing—residential academies where they actually live, as in the case of Phillips-Exeter, many other academies around the country. That's really the model that we were talking about. But we have discussed as well the idea of having the commuting academy where the students return.

Chairman OWENS. So you have some models which don't cost as much as Phillips-Exeter?

Dr. MCBAY. I only use that as an example to illustrate that there are such academies. We are proposing a model that would have a strong academic core, that would have a high emphasis on achievement. It was just sort of natural, I guess, to pull that name out of the air.

Chairman OWENS. I would like to ask two or three questions which any one of you can address. As I came back, you were talking about sports, and might have covered this: How would you react to a mandate that there would be sports policies which permit all students to participate without regard to grades? That sports should be considered an opportunity for students who are good in that area, just to express themselves and succeed at something, just as academic performance would be also. Is there unanimous agreement that that's not a good idea, that it is a good idea? How would you react to that? Any one of you.

Dr. HAWKINS. Quickly, I'd say it is a good idea, but you would have to, then, either shoot all the coaches that we have and get others, or retrain them.

Chairman OWENS. Shoot the coaches?

Dr. HAWKINS. Yes. You would have to have a different set of coaches.

Chairman OWENS. They don't want all those students?

Dr. HAWKINS. No. I think the coaches have a different bend. They are coaching in the professional model, in the corporate model, and what we need are teachers who like students, and who use sports to do things with them.

Dr. MCBAY. I would certainly support what you just said, because the point that was made earlier, that the very students who are not participating in school in an academic sense, are now being disallowed the opportunity to participate in an extracurricular sense. And so here you have no opportunity for these students to be involved. And so, how can we expect them to be successful in any arena? So I would certainly support that, with the understanding that we are also at the same time trying to improve the circumstances where their academic achievement can improve.

Chairman OWENS. Any other comments? Should this always be a reward for good performance academically?

Dr. GAY. I don't necessarily think so, but I am not an advocate of sports either. I think for a research agenda, a much more critical issue is to systematically analyze what it is about sports that has such positive impact, and then to try to make a bridge between what is happening in the sports arena, into the classroom. To me, if there is an instructive lesson from what sports gives to youngsters for academic purposes, in that way, then, I would recommend it and endorse your idea.

Dr. MCBAY. Could I just comment on that? There is a lesson there, and that is this whole idea of working together as a team. And that is why cooperative learning, in which there is an emphasis on team projects in the academic sense, has been so encouraging. So there are lessons to be learned there.

Chairman OWENS. All right. We might want to address the issue again. We won't let you off so easily, Dr. Gay. We may ask for some definite research to determine whether there are prejudices against people with athletic ability. The Greeks emphasize both athletic ability and academic ability, et cetera. We need to delve more into that subject.

New school staffing patterns which guarantee that there will be more African-American male role models in the schools—more counselors, aides, clerical workers, specialists—are highly desirable even if that means you have less professional teachers. Even when the budget can't pay for both, maybe you should break down the school structures and have specialists, clerks, counselors, do something to guarantee that there are opportunities to have more African-American male role models.

Would you comment on that?

Dr. GAY. I think the question of quantity, having more African-Americans present, is kind of a given. But there is a strong caveat about that. Care must be taken that the presence of African-Americans is not stereotypic, particularly African-American males. If students begin to see African-American males in the educational arena, in nonprofessional positions, then that may perpetuate a stereotype that's all African-American males——

Chairman OWENS. I didn't mention janitors. I did say specialists, counselors, clerical workers, aides.

Dr. GAY. Well, the same principle holds true, because there is a hierarchy within the profession, that's kind of a status recognition, and all of that. I think that's a laudable goal, but care just needs to be taken that the presence of African-Americans is not stratified in any select position that they appear across the board, the whole professional board.

Chairman OWENS. Finally, it is interesting to me that most of you had not mentioned parents, and parent development, parent liaison, work with parents. Very little has been said about that. What is your reaction to this statement: Even the most inadequate school budget should set aside some funds for parent liaison and training. Some percentage of funds should be set aside for that, regardless of how strapped they are for funds. Would you care to comment?

Dr. McBAY. I think parental involvement is central. In fact, even in the residential model, you will see in the testimony there, we had a community outreach component which had placed a heavy emphasis on parents. Not only on helping to keep them informed about what was happening in the schools, but also to meet some of their needs, some of their educational needs, as well. So, the idea of supporting parental involvement is certainly one that should occur.

The problem that one has to deal with, though, is that many of the parents—especially those who are not likely to participate—are ones who feel inadequate. And we have to do something to address that. They feel inadequate in terms of what would they. Well, first of all, many of them, have had negative experiences at school, and they often don't feel as if they can express their ideas sufficiently well, that they know how to address basic things that other people sort of take for granted.

So, I think that there needs to be some way of empowering parents so that they can feel they have a right to go and demand changes in the school system that is not serving their children.

So, yes, I would support training parents, especially toward empowering them to ask the questions, critical questions, about the kind of schooling that their children are receiving.

Chairman **OWENS**. Do we have any data, studies, to back that up, or is this just a common sense notion that parent involvement is positive, just a pet project of people like Major Owens? Do we have any studies which establish the fact that it makes a difference? Other than the Head Start experience?

Dr. **GAY**. The James-Coleman model out of New Haven has some very strong support for parental involvement. That project, now, I believe is in at least 50 school districts around the country.

Dr. **HAWKINS**. I think there is a good deal of evidence of parental support and its relationship to young athletes, and how they operate, and how they do academically in school. I can't put my hand on who did the work, but I have seen that come out of some of our sports sociologies.

The other point I want to make is, Chicago now has moved to a system where we have 600 boards of education and parents are mandated to be a good deal of that. As a matter of fact, I think parents have to be chairpersons of those local boards of education. They call them local school councils. So there would be ample evidence of one or two things, I think, in just a while: whether it works or whether it doesn't. But we are on a track here now where some very interesting things are happening in Chicago.

Chairman **OWENS**. I hope we have some other experiments some other places, because in that one, they are giving the parents very little to work with. It's almost doomed to failure, in my opinion.

I said that would be the last thing, but I do want to have your comment on the use of available funds, regardless of how scarce they may be, some dedication of available funds for the education of young people who are caught up in the prison, parole, or probation systems; a mandate that there must be education programs maintained among these captive populations. What would be your comment on that? There are a whole lot of them, a lot of them of school age, of course. You know that.

Dr. **HAWKINS**. Well, the sense of that, of course, is, it is a money-saving device, actually. Because to the degree that we can turn students away from that recidivism that we hear so much about, I think is the degree to which we make five dollars for a dollar. I think that is the figure I heard.

Dr. **OLIVER**. I would like to support that comment, and I would also say that I think that there is a tremendous need for remedial education within correctional facilities, especially adult correctional facilities, both remedial education and also occupational skills training.

Dr. **McBAY**. May I just make one comment, Mr. Chair, about that?

Chairman **OWENS**. Sure.

Dr. **McBAY**. I certainly support it. I just think that there also needs to be an emphasis—while there is a recognition of the need for remedial education—an emphasis on developing skills, making skills, in addition to vocational skills, so that all of these people we are talking about would have an opportunity to do a range of things rather than very specific jobs that they might be trained for while they are in captivity.

Chairman **OWENS**. Thank you.

Before I give Mr. Payne the last word, I again want to invite you to continue to think along with us about an effective way we can set up an institute which would focus on these problems on an ongoing basis. Maybe we won't call it the Institute for the Education of At-Risk Students. We will call it the Institute for the Change of Defunct Systems, or some other thing, in deference to you, Dr. McBay. But you get the idea—that there is a need for a concentrated effort which provides resources to do the kinds of things that have to be done.

All of you came here today on your own steam. You paid your way. And if you are staying overnight, you are paying your hotel fee. It is just one example of how it is not possible to use our resources across the Nation unless we have some resources on an ongoing basis. The studies and the kinds of demonstration projects that are needed, are massive. Time is running out and we need to intervene, and intervene fast, from the Federal level.

I yield to Mr. Payne for the last word.

Mr. **PAYNE**. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I just had some questions, but I will hold them off.

I would just like to ask Dr. McBay, with the residential academies, that probably will work, but what about the broad—I think our concern is, what happens to all the rest? In our city of Newark, we have a science high school, university high school, an arts, and one other specialized school. They are excellent. Plus, I support that. But now, I am concerned—and that's just, maybe, 15, 10, 12 percent of the population of the school age kids. What happens to the rest?

Dr. **MCBAY**. Well, I did not emphasize in my remarks, although I did in the written testimony, that—there are two things: One is, we are trying to reach students who are living in the most dire of circumstances. For example, in Camden, New Jersey.

The other reason for wanting to do this model, is to demonstrate that there are some things that will work; that if you have a climate of high expectations, whether it is in a residential setting, or in a public school setting, that there are some ways to create the successful environment. We would involve teachers in what we were talking about, so that the lessons that are learned through the residential experience would be transferred back to the regular school system.

There is no way we could have a system of residential academies, as you correctly point out, to take care of all of the needs. It is simply a way of demonstrating that you can create an environment of success.

Mr. **PAYNE**. Just the other thing about this third and fourth grade. We have been hearing more and more, and the little experiment that we have done in Newark shows that this seems to me and to a number of people now, that it is the critical part, especially for young males from a single-parent household, that when you are in about the third or fourth grade, a big determination is made as to whether you are going to be kind of street-wise, or whether you are still going to continue to be the way you were before that.

Have any of you done any particular research, or do you know of any studies that might talk about that? We know of prenatal care, and all the rest, but at what point does it become very critical? Anyone have any comment on that?

Dr. HOLMES. The national assessment data for the decade of 1970 through 1980, and since, do still verify that the scores or the achievement levels begin to widen among blacks and Hispanics from those of whites at fourth grade. The evidence is overwhelming.

The other part of that picture, though, is then, what is it that is happening? And what is happening is the way these kids are treated in school by teachers. It becomes very critical at that point. Self-awareness. A number of sociopsychological kinds of transformations are taking place in children, generally, no matter what they may be. But the way they are treated gets implanted, and it implants certain negative messages, and that is why it is so important.

The evidence for it is largely observational, but it is also reflected in the reading studies, many of them published by the International Reading Association, having to do with the way teachers interact with various kids assigned to various groups. And, so, there is a body of evidence, and it is very critical.

Dr. GAY. There is also some evidence from analysis of textbooks, as the premier curricula in schools, that there is a significant, radical shift in the type of features of curricula of textbooks between, let's say, K-3, and then fourth year, and thereafter, that seem to suggest that there may be some impact on that as well.

Dr. MCBAY. I think there is also the evidence of the tracking that occurs as early as the first grade. You have students who come to school unequally prepared, and Head Start obviously would help address that, but they are put into slower tracks presumably to help them make up for the deficits that they have.

But what happens is, you get this accumulation of deficits over time, but yet the standardized tests expect all students to be masters of the same knowledge, when in fact they have not even covered the same topics in the courses that lead up to the time when these tests are given.

Mr. PAYNE. Thank you very much.

I have a workshop, too, today at 3 o'clock, if you want to deal with literacy and the impact on the urban community, at the Monroe Room at the Washington Hilton. Tomorrow we will have one in the afternoon somewhere here.

So, Major Owens will be having very interesting conversations about the same time today. You are all invited.

Chairman OWENS. Thank you again. The hearing is now adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 1:25 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned.]

[Additional material submitted for the record follows.]

STATEMENT OF

DR. STEVEN BOSSERT, DEAN, SCHOOL OF EDUCATION
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DR. BRUCE HARE, PROFESSOR AND DEPARTMENT CHAIR
AFRICAN-AMERICAN STUDIES
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

DR. WILLIAM POLLARD, DEAN, SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

BEFORE THE

SELECT EDUCATION SUBCOMMITTEE
HOUSE EDUCATION AND LABOR COMMITTEE
U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

SUBMISSION FOR THE RECORD
SEPTEMBER 27, 1990

Mr. Chairman. Thank you for allowing us to make public comments before the Select Education Subcommittee on our concerns surrounding the education of African-American males today.

Increasingly, African-American males are occupying a precarious niche in American Society. As a group, they have the shortest life expectancy, the highest high school dropout rate, and the highest unemployment rate in the nation. Racism, unequal opportunities, and institutional bias operate to their disadvantage, delivering African-American males disproportionately to the lowest rungs of the occupational ladder.

Schools play a fundamental role in this process. Through tracking and grading practices, children are sorted into different positions in the occupational structure. African-American boys largely encounter teachers who have neither learned about their life experiences or about teaching approaches that foster achievement among them. Too often, responsibility for low attainment is shifted to the boys themselves, their families, and peer groups rather than being accepted by the school. The result is that schools provide an unsupportive learning environment for many African-American males. It should not be surprising that they shift their attention to nonschool areas, where peer groups provide their sense of pride and control.[1]

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[1] Drs. Bruce Hare and Louis Castenell, No place to run, no place to hide: Comparative status and future prospects for black boys. In M Spencer, G. Brookins & W. Allen (Eds.), *Beginnings: The social and affective development of black children* (pp. 201-214). Hillsdale, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 1985.

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Similar processes affect Native Americans, Hispanics, Pacific Islanders, and others--where school attainment, and hence occupation success, can be depressed by an educational system that does not understand their cultural heritage or provide learning experiences tailored to their unique circumstances.

In order to address these issues, we urge the establishment of an Institute for Multicultural Education within the U.S. Department of Education. An institute would focus our national attention and effort on understanding the educational needs and providing innovative schooling alternatives for African-American males as well as other educationally "at-risk" children and youth.

In planning this institute, we ask that you consider at least four issues: First, the institute should focus its attention on developing effective methods of educating teachers, administrators, and other educational specialists in multicultural perspectives. It is imperative that school professionals understand the unique cultural, social, personal orientations their students bring with them into the classroom. But it is not enough to simply infuse multicultural content into the school curriculum. We must push for the integration of cultural pluralism and pedagogical practice, so that educators will be able to create learning settings where all children will experience success in our schools. An institute on multicultural education would help create model programs as well as support research and development activities concerning effective teaching strategies.

Second, the Institute for Multicultural Education should focus attention on the entire infrastructure of educational and social services. Current federal and state programs often provide services for a special need or subgroup. Many of these programs offer excellent services, but they can fragment the educational experience of the child who is routinely pulled out of one classroom and sent to another for special education. Incongruent messages about learning and self-

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worth can result, especially when different teachers convey differing expectations and values for success. When children become the pawns in this system, their motivation and interest in school is depressed. The Institute for Multicultural Education should address how schools and their allied social services could be restructured in a way that reaffirms students' self-worth and that empowers students and their families as learners and teachers.[2]

Third, we ask that you carefully consider the name of the institute. An Institute for *Multicultural* Education would emphasize the pluralistic nature of these educational issues and the unique circumstances of the culturally differentiated groups of students educated in American schools today. Other terms carry more pernicious connotations. For example, the label "minority," except when used in a purely enumerative way, fosters stereotypic images. It conveys subordinate status to the "majority" culture. We prefer images that project the value of pluralism in our multi-ethnic society.

Finally, we believe that the institute's agenda will demand the collective talent and creativity of school and university educators from around the United States. Individual researchers and local schools should be solicited for their ideas and participation for the majority of the institute's program, instead of targeting large grants to a single organization or consortium. Mirroring the institute's pluralistic agenda in the selection of projects and grants should offer the most powerful solutions to this important problem.

We thank you, Mr. Chairman, and the subcommittee, for this opportunity to present our views on educating the African-American male in today's society and on the need for establishing an Institute for Multicultural Education. We commend you for your concern about this important issue.

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[2] Dr. William Pollard, *Empowering Our Youth*. Address to the Civic Issues Forum, Syracuse University, October 13, 1989.